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HARD
TIMES IN
THE RECESSION

WHAT DOES CANADA WANT?

**Mulroney Names A
Panel To Answer The
Crucial Question**

**In Quebec, Support
Grows For A Bold
New Relationship**



Prime Minister Brian Mulroney In The Commons





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 12, 1992 \$2.95 (U.S. \$3.95) NO. 48

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CANADA/COVER

WHAT DOES CANADA WANT?

In an attempt to regain the constitutional initiative, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney named a 12-member national unity commission to assess what Canadians think about the future of Confederation. But Keith Spicer, chairman of the new commission, acknowledged that achieving some form of consensus in a country racked by division will be a daunting task. — 14



SPECIAL REPORT

HARD TIMES IN THE RECESSION

Canadians watched nervously last week as the country sank deeper into recession. The list of corporate layoffs grew, consumers continued to restrain spending, and many analysts were skeptical about Finance Minister Michael Wilson's assertion that the downturn will be mild and short-lived. — 84



BUSINESS

OLD RIVALS, NEW WARS

Two of Canada's most powerful business dynasties, the Irvings and the McCains, headed by Harrison McCain, are squaring off for a showdown. The location is New Brunswick's picturesque upper Saint John River valley. The dispute is over frozen french fries—and one side is backing down. — 48





The Task Is Clear

There is no way of knowing how effective Keith Spicer's national forum will be. But Prime Minister Brian Mulroney can only be applauded for trying to fill the dangerous vacuum left by the failure of the Meech Lake negotiations. It was a serious mistake not to have set the process in motion much earlier. But there is now at least a distinct chance of drawing Canadians' attention back to the critical task of redefining and rebuilding their nation, rather than allowing previous and regrettably ill-considered decisions to go their destructive or separate ways.

Mulroney's task is clear. Despite his widespread unpopularity, he still occupies a position from which he can make the case convincingly for one Canada—a Canada tolerant of differences, willing to recognize Quebec's special nature and prepared to discuss a country that recognizes its real regional distinctiveness.

The challenges facing the Spicer commission—and a subsequent, yet-to-be-announced panel of constitutional experts that Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith reports on in this week's cover story—are complicated and critical. The hastily assembled panel of specialists may become as fractured as the various "Ais" in Quebec, the mood appears to range from indifference to hostility. As one panel member, Quebec newspaper publisher Robert Normand, observed at a speech this fall in New York City, federalism "has become a swear word in Quebec." The real people are especially important as the process: the logging families in B.C.'s Squamish area, ranchers in the Rocky Mountain foothills, dairy farmers in the Ottawa Valley, entrepreneurs in Quebec's Rimousi region and the fishing families of Bonaville, Newfoundland. If people from those walks of life are really involved, if their voices are heard, a truly constructive vision of our future may emerge.



Wilson-Smith: a chance of drawing attention to the critical task of rebuilding the nation

Kevin W. Doyle

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LETTERS

THE MEDITATORS

I enjoyed "The Mahabharat Effect" (Globe, Oct. 26), about Mahabharat Mahesh Bop's plea to "take the crown in the Middle East" and increase stock-market values by having a week-long assembly of meditators. During the week of the assembly, I acted a role in the U.S. stock market and the first fall of possible peace. If there are, as Mahabharat International University claims, independent studies that have found similar results, why do we not give this a fair try? Breakthrough ideas have often come from unusual sources, while fear-based strategized civil political alliances have never secured lasting peace.

Marcus Alvan,
Nanaimo, B.C.

GANGING UP ON ISRAEL

Canada should be ashamed of endorsing the anti-semitic UN Security Council resolution condemning Israel's claim for the territory in Jerusalem ("An alliance in danger," *World Special Report*, Oct. 26). It ignored the cause of the Palestinians. No wonder the Israeli are outraged at the UN's double standard. Once again, Canada had to be one of the only

John W. Scott,
North Sydney, N.S.

OF LOCKER ROOMS AND LADIES

Fred Braving is more to be pitied than censured for falling into the same trap that captured a majority of the media, an upstart public and as utterly skewed U.S. Federal Court, all of whom took turns taking potshots over the last three years ("Into the eye of the dragon," *Column*, Oct. 22). The obvious solution: No athletes will be interviewed unless he or she wishes an interview will be provided for interviewers, anyone being interviewed will receive the same treatment as a member determined by the league concerned. All those in the media who were sucked into this morass should assess the value of the incredible amount of free publicity the National Football League received over a small free for a week and a number of self-indulgent columnists by people who would be horrified if their parents dressing areas were invaded by anyone, male or female.

Thomas Gault,
Chatham, N.C.

Fred Braving's column about Lisa Olson's ordeal with the New England Patriots leads up to ask two questions: How would female athletes like it if male reporters were in their changing rooms? Would Braving appreciate someone trying to interview him with his pants down?

Scott Coleman,
London, Ont.



The Maharshi "breakthrough ideas"

What a shocking surprise! A woman enters a locker room full of undressing men and finds that they behave like men, not women. Nevertheless. While the woman is in the state of these initial players express themselves as sluggish and harnessed, they are obviously

uncomfortable with a female presence in the changing room. If you treat people as though they have no awareness or shame, do not be surprised when they act instinctively and shamelessly.

Camron Jackson,
Stroud, Ont.

THE GIFT OF THE MAGUS

Your entirely uncritical review of the book *Tradition and Our Times*, Vol. 1, *The Magnificent Obsession*, by Stephen Clarkson and Christine McGill, was interesting ("Legacy of the magus," *Books*, Oct. 26). In light of the constitutional issues in which we are currently unfolding, it is impossible to share either the authors' or your reviewer's obvious enthusiasm for Trudeau's 1982 patriation of the Constitution, when, whether due to age or political expediency, he left out 20 per cent of the population and one of Canada's founding cultures. Rather than being of lasting value, it could yet prove to be the wedge causing Canada to come apart at the seams.

E. W. Kloss,
Guelph, Ont.

Letter on child and sex is confused. Writers should apply more critical and deeper reader than reviewer. Letters to the Editor. Magazine. Magazine. Please Ship. 177 Bay St. Toronto Ont. M5H 1A7

PASSAGES

DEED: Female entrepreneur Craig Russell, 42, in Toronto, died of a stroke caused by complications from AIDS. Russell was best known for his starring role in the 1977 sex-movie graphic novel *Overdrive* (Oct. 13), the Scarborough, Ont. native became president of the *Miss West* Film Club. At 17, he moved on with his job for four months. "She was about as fancy as the Ten Commandments," Russell said of the experience. Russell went on to build a stage set in which he depicted West and other female stars, including Judy Garland and Loretta Devine. In the early 1980s, Russell's career flourished, partly because of models that included leading *Margaret Trudeau* and a talk show and advertising campaign.



HIBID: Former British newspaper editor Harold Evans, 62, as publisher of *Routledge House*, Inc. in New York City, the largest publisher of general-interest books in the United States. Evans, who is married to Hedy Bear editor Tina Brown, was editor of *The Times* of London from 1981 until 1982. He left after a disagreement with the paper's owner and publisher, Rupert Murdoch. In his new position, Evans will publish Murdoch's columns next year.

AWARDED: The 1990 Commonwealth Writers Prize, in Melbourne, Australia, was the \$20,000 prize for his novel *Solomon's Gears* by Neil.

CHARGED: With assault and sexual assault threats against his girlfriend, Jean-Guy

Tremblay, 26, the Montreal man who passed public attention last year after trying to prevent his on-girlfriend Chantale Daigle, 21, from obtaining an abortion.

SYNCHRONIC: Former millionaire Donald Trump, 44, and his wife Doane, 44, after a widely publicized separation earlier this year amid reports of his infidelity with model Maria Magpies, 28. Trump's real estate empire, once estimated to be worth \$3 billion, has lost its luster in the current economic downturn. The couple has three children.

HIBED: The executive entertainment editor of *The Toronto Star*, George Anthony, for the position of creative head of the new arts, culture, science and variety department of CBC TV.



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LETTERS

A MATTER OF ENDURANCE

What a terrible year for Canada. First, we had Manich Laine. One and now MacEwen's Circus ("How much can Canada take?" Cover, Oct. 8)? I never thought I would defend Mulroney, but how long can a country endure an appointed Senate, accountable to no one, that feels it has the right to stop any bill it considers unpopular? After reading your article on the GST, the tax does not look that bad to me. It will hurt, but the actions of MacEwen's Geriatric Brigade hurt Canada even more.

Andrew Burkhardt,
Willowdale, Ont.

So, Jess Christie hopes to achieve Senate reform by causing a crisis over the cot in the upper house. Apparently, the strategy of nothing the doe with our Constitution knows no partisan bounds: a strategy that achieves nothing but the utter disaster of our political institutions.

Joan Herbert,
Riverside

Mulroney is apparently concerned that the Senate response to the GST constitutes a fight against "democracy itself and the principle of responsible government." He might be wise to remember that at no time during the last election did he debatably outline anything like the GST. Rather, he spent it on air, and he must know by now that we do not like it. As a result, the Senate is fighting for responsible government. Thank you, senators.

Mary-Ellen Collins,
Cambridge, Ont.

My response to your cover story is that Canada cannot take much more. Mulroney is acting in an irresponsible and dictatorial manner, and Canadians have had enough and will not take any more.

Gail M. Boda,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

WHO SHOULD PAY FOR OPERA?

I do not know what it is with Pithersburgers. One week, I would like to see him running the country; the next week, I would not let him do my laundry. His criticism of Buchanan's appointment to the Senate could not have been more appropriate ("A mopey roundup of hub-crown events," Collins, Oct. 8). It is hard to believe that this is the same Feth who waxes about the merits of spending millions for an opera house during a recession ("Little Santa Fe shows the way," Collins, Oct. 22). I cannot believe that he would be so narrow-minded to praise Santa Fe over Toronto, just because it has a few more art galleries. But, then again,

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Audit Bureau of Circulations

LETTERS

Look at what we have: a \$306-million debt on the best sports facility in the world. What is another couple million for an open house?

Dave Allan,
St. Catharines, Ont.

So Wateringhouse would have us blindly lend over the funds repaid for the Belter Open House in Toronto, so we can be a world-class city like Seattle. No, M.T. If we were heading it like Seattle, perhaps it would agree, but we are not. To have a similarly large facility in Toronto would require an auditorium seating 105,000 people, which would then make it accessible to the masses, rather than the small percentage who could enjoy such performance in the 2,000 seats that will be available. Why not have those who are going to use it pick up most of the tab, just like they did in Seattle? No?

Derek Siskind,
Toronto

DUBIOUS EXPRESSIONS

Regarding "Art and obscenity" (The Arts, Oct. 15) and delinquent Dennis Barrie's declaration that "the intention was to take a sometimes tough, sometimes brutal subject matter and bring beauty to it." Does Barrie really believe that the picture of one man peeing into another's mouth is beautiful? Because I get into the lyrics of a Love Crew and the idea of the album of Google Adsense is that these alleged artists are creating their music at us, knowing that the current view is that no comment on obscenity can be permitted. Who defines what is depraved or disgusting? I do not know, but unless we start defining such limits, we will be forced to accept small matters, in which a main character is sexually killed, as legitimate expressions of art.

Peg Denon,
Ottawa

BLOCKING THE BLOC

I find it curious that Bloc Quebecois member Jean Lapierre envisions "a shared Parliament" when he denounces Quebec independence ("A new voice for Quebec," Globe, Oct. 15). My suggestion is that for every step Quebec takes closer to independence, it loses a set number of seats in Parliament. Once the Quebec caucus loses its stronghold on Parliament, perhaps we would see a more backing of federal assistance contracts, foreign contracts and Helsinki jobs to Quebec.

Robert LaFrance,
Rouville, N.B.

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LETTERS

of some people in Parliament whose objective is to destroy Canada. The members belonging to the Bloc Québécois should be banned from the House of Commons.

*Lawrence Joly,
St. Paul, Alta.*

NOTING EXCELLENCE

In your Passage of Sept. 24, you mention the admirably interesting news that American film star Jack Nicholson was named commander of France's prestigious Order of Arts and Letters. Is it symptomatic of this country's unwillingness to note excellence in its native artists that you made no mention of the fact that opera singer Leopold Stokowski and his wife Penelope-Marie, have also just been decorated with that society's highest award?

*Peter Symcox,
Victoria*

INSURANCE BLUES

Ontario's new H&P government wishes to implement a nonprofit government automobile insurance plan, similar to the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia (ICBC) ("Gazetted expectations," *Canada*, Oct. 15). I have recently moved from British Columbia to Ontario and my insurance has decreased. The figures you quoted certainly do not reflect my experience, and I do not wish to see an outdated and inefficient system such as *taachse* in Ontario.

*John Langman,
Orleans, Ont.*

EXPANDING COVERAGE

What a shame that you could not have spared a paragraph or two in your otherwise admirable assessment of the fall TV offerings ("Network take-out," *Television*, Oct. 8) to recognize the superb programs available on PBS and PBO. Surely, quality programming merits some recognition along with the mind-boggling stuff you have surveyed.

*Levin Abbott,
Guelph, Ont.*

SECRETS OF HER SUCCESS

I am appalled the tongue-in-cheek skit *Agnes* the coverage of Irene Trump's latest endeavor ("The road from farm to riches," *Opening Notes*, Oct. 30). However, I do take exception to the last line in the article. There are many women who do not equate "achieving our potential" with "picking a wealthy husband." This type of using women has no place in any Canadian magazine.

*Margaret Dixon,
Stratford, Ont.*

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OPENING NOTES

Jeanne Sauv   berates her countrymen, Brian Mulroney gives dinner orders, and every day is Dan Quayle day

A SUMMONS TO DINNER

Brian Mulroney, who is coming under increasing criticism for his unimpeccable stand on such unpopular issues as the proposed Goods and Services Tax, has turned his ire on some of his own caucus. When Lisa Blais-Bennett, the new publisher of Quebec's esteemed newspaper *Le Devoir*, personally prevailed on the Prime Minister to attend a fund-raising dinner on Nov. 16 at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel in Montreal, Mulroney instructed all 10 of his Quebec cabinet ministers to attend too. Party leaders including Jean Chr  tien, Andr  e Blais, Robert Bourassa and Jacques Parizeau will also be there. But insiders say that some ministers are upset by the order. Tickets to the dinner, which marks the financially troubled newspaper's 80th anniversary, cost \$800 each. And Mulroney's Quebec ministers probably will have to pay out of their own pockets. Said one senior Tory: "A lot of guys were pretty unhappy. But the Prime Minister made it very clear this was important to him." Counting the press cost he expensive.



Mulroney: ruling his ministers with an iron will

The Sun Times' silent partner

The mysterious third party in The Sun Times of Canada trust is Norman Webster, editor of the Montreal *Graphic*. Webster, who absorbed the publishing community when he sharply set his job as editor of the *Montreal Star* and *Mail* last year, confessed that he is "investing a lot of money" in the weekly tabloid aimed at Canadians living in Florida. The other two principals, Vancouver-based Garry Smith and Toronto-based Geoffrey Stevens, are also defuncted former *Globe* employees. Stevens, who lost his job as managing editor last year, is using the paper for wrongful dismissal. And Smith, who was assistant managing editor, was recently passed over for a posting in Los Angeles that she had applied for.

But the future looks rosy: "I'm sure," says Webster, "it's every journalist's dream to start your own newspaper. So we're doing it."



Stevens: a journalist's dream comes true at last

THE QUAYLE COLLECTION

There is nothing like a little nonsense to lighten the daily grind. With that in mind, the Quayle Quarterly, a magazine in Bridgeport, Conn., has created the 1993 Dan Quayle calendar. A Dan for All Seasons, featuring 12 months of such quotable Quayle quotes as "If we don't succeed, we run the risk of failure." Included is a testimonial from former vice-president Richard Nixon, who says of Quayle, "He's a very different side from the intellectual snail that has been portrayed among the media." Not according to the calendar.

Replaying history back to front

Rhode Island Senator Chris Dodd, a distinguished academic with an interest in psychic phenomena, is leading on stage tomorrow in his efforts to re-enact U.S. security. Dodd assigned an aide, C. B. Scott Jones, to study developments in paranormal activity. Recently, Jones discovered what he said may be a recurring code word, "anomaly," after listening to tapes, played backwards, of George Bush's and other senior officials' Persian Gulf speeches. Jones wrote to warn the department of defense. But he added, "If the word means nothing special to you, then it is a coincidence." Jones costs \$55,000 a year.

A TRIBUTE FROM ABROAD

It is a measure of security to be able to accept compliments with aplomb. And last month, in the European Council's Brussels Conference, the Hague one with typical Canadian self-deprecation. Unlikely though it seemed, nearly 300 academics from 15 countries gathered to discuss such nonacademic topics as constitutional reform, free trade and the party of Prime Minister Jean Chr  tien. Representative of the Association for Canadian Studies in the Netherlands, which hosted the conference, described it as "an extraordinary event from Europe to Canada." Added Rens: "I think it's about time we let Canadians know what we think of this beautiful country." Instead of graciously accepting the laudis, former governor general Jeanne Sauv   delivered an enlivened keynote address warning the provincial powers for the future of Michael L  be and criticizing immigrants to Canada for their failure to integrate. But the Europeans appeared unperturbed by the grumbling. Said Polish delegate Josef Kowalczyk: "In Canada, there is a dialogue between government and society. Canadians want to find a peaceful solution. They have the will." Thank you.



Sauv  : an enlivened address

Layman: party



A LATE SUMMER DAY'S NIGHTMARE

Writer and comedian Ben Horowitz had some hurried days following the recent war victory in Quebec. After spending part of the summer writing a one-act play, *The Showing of the Iron*, for a Stratford Festival benefit in Toronto, Horowitz had to rewrite the entire script. He rewrote the original but not then-Premier Bob Paterson in the mock Shakespearean script. Instead, on Nov. 4, Bob Rae played the leader's role along with his wife, Anne, and such other strange bedfellows as former attorney general Joe Scott, Liberal Senator Michael Kirby and Bay Street horse trader Jackson. Horowitz said that Paterson and his wife, Shelley, declined invitations to appear in minor roles. Other no-shows: former premier Willem Davis and *Globe* and *Mail* gossip columnist Rosemary Spector.

Friends no more

Friends of Bernard Roy, former provincial secretary in B  n Mulroney and once one of Lester Bouchard's close advisers,



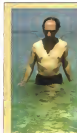
Roy: holding a grudge

now say that his anger about Bouchard's defection from Roy's ranks to lead the Bloc Qu  b  cist list Roy remains unchanged. Said one individual close to Roy: "We turn off the TV if Bouchard's face comes on." More evidence of Roy's rancor surfaced when Bouchard recently addressed Mulroney's Canadian Club. Although Roy is a director, he was conspicuously absent.

A man for all ages

It is almost exactly 13 years since Margaret Trudeau told reporters that her husband had the body of a 25-year-old. According to Diana Marie Arsenault, social columnist for *The Edmonton Sun*, nothing much has changed since then. Arsenault told *Maclean's* that she recently spent four congesting and relaxing days at the exclusive Ritz Runch Health Spa and Private Resort, near Toronto, with Trudeau. She was also a guest. Arsenault said that the portly-shoulder in sunbath, tennis and spa-fitness sessions with the former prime minister, who turned 71 in October. Trudeau was, she said, "incredibly graceful." But most remarkable, said Arsenault, 34, was his physical condition. "There was not an ounce of fat in his body. He is extremely muscular and fit. It was mind-boggling to have a 71-year-old man close me in every activity." Warning just becomes a way of life.

Trudeau: body of a 25-year-old





**We make ours
with rye grain.
That's why we call it rye.**

Should they call theirs 'corn'?

COLUMN



Declaring war on the ostriches

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The long-running debate over free trade is irrelevant, now the battle is joined: the Goods and Services Tax. Opponents of both are practitioners of ostrichism; the tendency of persons with a low opinion of the world to bury their heads in the sand. The GAT and free trade initiatives, whether bilateral, unilateral or multilateral, are essential policies at once with the irreversible, post-war trend towards a global economy.

The world has become McLuhanesque; a global village whose economic benefits is awarded increasingly to those who can best perform and not merely to those who can keep others out of the village. That is why free trade's enemies are precisely overpaid labor unions or fat-cat monopolists. While protectionism gives handouts and votes, Canadians must realize that raising against free trade is a counter-strategy. Free trade is a profound historical trend which is as inescapable as gravity. The debate of the 1990s is not whether free trade is a good idea or not: the debate should centre on how to adjust, how to improve strengths, cushion dislocations and find new niches.

The global economy is a result of the liberalization of trade worldwide. The process began in Britain, 1846, in 1944 when 44 nations set down to create economic trade-offs in commerce through privatizing regulations and standards in the General Agreement on Trade and Trade (GATT), the "Constitution" that defines the new world economic order. Prior to the Second World War, high tariff walls protected home markets from foreign intruders, thus ensuring consumers the best products at the lowest prices. Similarly, before the Canada-U.S. free trade deal, Canadian copper fared south at a tariff of one per cent but Canadian Canadian copper was hit with a 5.5-per-cent tariff.

The global economy is a welcome historical development. It represents the largest redistribution of wealth in human history; as buyers in wealthy countries agree, somewhat reluctantly at times, to open up their markets to

Free trade's enemies are overpaid labor unionists or fat-cat monopolists. But freer trade is a trend as immutable as gravity

adversaries from low-cost, poverty-stricken countries. It also has contributed to the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as its leaders found that they could not live outside, or without, the increasingly free and efficient market system. That is why the Soviets and others are attempting economic reforms and seem intent on joining the GATT process. Of course, that process is not without its problems. At present, the Americans and the Europeans are playing brinkmanship over agricultural subsidies in the latest round of talks, which are scheduled to end in the first week of December.

Trade liberalization has also led to fewer, bigger, more efficient manufacturing plants and resource operations. Economies extreme and become more dependent, thus favouring co-operation. This new spirit was dramatically illustrated when the province of Quebec was met with unprecedented multinational resistance, including support by the Soviet Union. Such co-operation shows that it may be possible one day to mount a multinational attack against pollution and poverty.

Unfortunately, deep profound change in the world's economic order is not understood in Canada. Canada is already as far along in this

process of interdependence that our standard of living in future depends strictly upon how active, and nonprotectionist, we are. Up to one-third of Canadian jobs are directly or indirectly dependent upon trade with other countries. Dependence upon exports means we must continue to open up our market to foreign competitors at their entrance. Such added competition means we must match the educational efforts of others and also retain dedicated workers to give them more rewards, value added. Canadian schoolchildren, for instance, should go to school year-round as do their Japanese counterparts. Similarly, dollars must be spent to upgrade workers thrown out of jobs so that they can offer something more valuable to the marketplace.

Canada is also profoundly dependent upon the world's debt markets, thanks to the proclivity among politicians in every party to live beyond their means. Canadian governments and corporations collectively owe more than \$200 billion offshore, giving us the dubious distinction of having one of the highest levels of foreign indebtedness per capita in the industrialized world, about \$9,000 per person. This national mortgage has driven up taxes, inflation and interest rates, and threatens our competitive status.

In a global economy, a high-cost country like ours may only survive if its workers best cannot attract new enterprises. Our foreign indebtedness is why politicians who talk of lower, made-in-Canada interest rates are foolish. So are those who would hike minimum wages, toughen plant-closure rules and increase corporate taxes.

Canada's challenge is to figure out how to earn more hard currency from foreigners and how to motivate workers to work harder. If not, our standard of living, already on the decline, will fall further in the 1990s. Of course, people do not want to hear such messages and would rather vilify politicians who espouse such economics. Take the case of the export, a hated but essential reform in an export country such as ours. This type of value-added tax spreads the tax burden fairly, lessens its impact, is feasible in 48 countries and is a prerequisite to joining the European Economic Community.

The tax is needed because it replaces the hidden manufacturers tax, which both exporters with high costs and gives exporters a cost advantage. Well, Liberals and others make hay by opposing the tax even though they offer no alternative and surely know it is necessary.

Canadians, like King Canute, the medieval monarch who tried unsuccessfully to order the tides to stop coming in, cannot stop the tides of free trade as they concentrate on reducing the tide. Our Dutch neighbours will bury Canada if voters opt for politicians who would rip up the free trade deal despite the reality that there is no turning back. The world harkens towards one global economy whether we like it or not. For those who believe, the process of free trade, trade and strategy will be the only hope for a planet beset by poverty and pollution. Free trade is not an anti-free trade in a reality.

WHAT DOES CANADA WANT?

A NEW PANEL
IS SET TO ASK
CANADIANS WHAT
KIND OF COUNTRY
THEY REALLY WANT



Spicer: "not a lot of choices left for Canada"

As he sat late last week in a borrowed office overlooking Ottawa's downtown Sparks Street Mall, Keith Spicer gazed through a dirt-spattered window of a neighbouring shopping complex. Less than 24 hours earlier, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had named the 56-year-old Spicer to lead a new federal commission that will ask Canadians to reflect on the very soul of their country—and on whether that country still has a future. Now, despite the muddy window and the new surroundings—and the fact that he at first resented his assignment—Spicer joked that his new view was "considerably more clear and familiar than the vision of Canada we have to contemplate." The remark revealed how high Spicer believes the stakes to be for his new undertaking. Declared the formerly integral foreign federal official languages commissioner: "There are not a lot of choices left for Canada."

It is a belief that he clearly hopes will unite the lastly assembled 12 members of the federal government's new Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, little else does he add to Spicer, a former journalist and intellectual policy who took an eight-month leave of absence from his post as chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission in order to finally accept Mulroney's appointment, the commissioner's image from a "Toronto-based economic analyst and a Quebec nationalist to a New Brunswick mayor, a Manitoba farm activist and the successor of a British Columbia politician based long ago.

They couldn't, in Mul-

roney described it as a 56-minute speech to the House of Commons last week, a deliberately wide-ranging "We have lost much of the consensus we had on what kind of country Canada is," Mulroney told the Commons. As a result, he said, he is asking the new commission to find out directly from Canadians what kind of country they want, and whether they still share "common values and hopes and interests." Added the Prime Minister: "This is not going to be a formal process designed for high-priced consultants and high-pressure interest groups. It will be informal and easily accessible to as many Canadians as possible." For his part, Spicer acknowledged the risks of the ambitious undertaking. "There's a very high potential for failure," he said.

Spicer: Despite Mulroney's confident predictions of the assembly of his people's panel bore the earmarks of a hasty response to growing public pressure for federal action in the face of the Spicer's inauguration this week at batonage on its own constitutional future. Other factors included a weekend meeting of Quebec's federal Tories and indications in opinion polls that many Canadians detected a lack of national leadership. Some members of the new federal panel were recruited only hours before Mulroney announced it on Nov. 1. Indeed, several of them were reportedly about to be asked to become part of a private affairs forum that was being organized outside government by several prominent Liberal activists. A day after the Spicer commission was announced, Mulroney's office leaked information on the panel's budget and staff, and it was able to provide only

spare information about its members.

For their part, senior Tories said that last week's constitutional initiative represented the first of a series of steps that Mulroney plans in the hopes of restoring his party's political momentum. Officials in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) told Maclean's last week that the government is also preparing to assign an expert second group to study technical aspects of constitutional reform. In addition, a cabinet shuffle—expected early in the new year—will bring new players to the table for key issues around constitutional negotiations with the provinces. And Mulroney himself will take his government's case to Canadians in a series of well-orchestrated personal appearances that he began last month and that included his weekend sojourn to the Quebec wing of his victory in Mount St-Henri (page 30).



Mulroney: some critics see the new initiative as a Tory admission of failure

According to his senior advisers, Mulroney will announce the second part of his constitutional strategy shortly before Christmas. It will assign a panel of leading constitutional experts to weigh the consequences of specific changes to the present Constitution. Spicer, who said that he was "vaguely aware" of the plan, added, "I have said there it's not a bad idea, but it would be a better use if they waited and we are finished before they begin it." Said one main official: "We need ordinary Canadians to

tell us what kind of country we want; that we need constitutional experts to give us some ideas on how that can be achieved." And at week's end, Spicer said that one purpose of the forum will be to "create a receptive climate in English Canada" for the recommendations on reform by Quebec's own commission—"especially if they are radical."

What: For the beleaguered Conservatives—still reeling at record lows in public opinion polls—there may also be a third motive designed to reinforce the impression that the party has regained control of the constitutional agenda. Several senior Tories said that they expect that a cabinet shuffle in early January will see Joe Clark, who first proposed a series of public forums on Canada's future in June, leave his External Affairs portfolio in order to replace Senator Lowell Murray as the

National Notes

TAKING MAMMATHAN

Ottawa Premier Bob Rae visited New York City to reassure the Wall Street investment community that his government will be fiscally responsible. Rae delivered a speech to the Canadian Society and met the editorial boards of The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal.

WIDESPREAD ABUSE

Phil Fontaine, leader of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, said that he was one of thousands of native children who endured sexual, physical and emotional abuse in church-sponsored schools. Under federal law, native children were required to attend the schools, which closed in 1957.

THE GET ALONGS PROGRESS

In the Senate, the Liberals staged procedural delays aimed at slowing progress of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) legislation. In response, Conservative Senators moved that the upper chamber proceed directly to a final debate on the proposed seven-per-cent tax. If the Tory majority in the Senate votes in favor of the motion this week, the GST will be one step closer to approval.

A LIBERAL HULP

The hearing of a federal government application for a court order to halt work on Saskatchewan's controversial Millery-Alameda dam project while it awaits a federal environmental review was delayed—in construction proceedings. After the Court of Queen's Bench in Regina had adjourned to give the province time to prepare its case, it gave federal lawyers a further six days to study new documents from the province.

A HIGH PRICE

A report by the Outcomes Regional Planning Secretariat said that one-third of the workers in the area could lose their jobs if Quebec seceded from Canada. About 20,000 residents in the Outcomes, the region of western Quebec that lies across the Ottawa River from the nation's capital and includes the city of Hull, work for the federal government. Another 25,000 regularly cross the river to work for Ontario businesses.

FINALITY, A RACE BEGINS

The NDP nominated Infante and former union leader Guy Carleton to oppose Liberal Leader Guy Charlin in the Dec. 30 federal by-election in the New Brunswick riding of Berthoudville. The Conservatives are not making a candidate.

MANY CANADIANS HAVE NO APPETITE FOR A NEW ROUND OF SOUL-SEARCHING

nigitation Minister Barbara McDougall will take over Poitras.

Still, the first step in Mulroney's three-stage strategy provoked a whirl of conflicting reactions last week. Even Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, an opponent of the failed Meech Lake constitutional accord and a target of Mulroney's public scorn, described the Spicer panel's appointment as "the nicest first step" towards establishing the principles that will govern Canada's future. Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, whose Conservative government opposed the Meech Lake accord, also praised the move. Saul Fauriol, "I think it is absolutely

But in Quebec, the reaction ranged from indifference to hostility. Said Quebec Justice Minister Gil Melillo, a longtime constitutional adviser to Mulroney: "Quebec's constitutional future will come from Quebecers first. Quebecers will decide for themselves." Spicer, for his part, began his talk as chairman of the federal panel by acknowledging Michel Bélanger and Jean Gauthier, the co-chairmen of Quebec's commission. He declared Spicer: "I intend them to know that I consider our work to be a complement to theirs, and not competitive."

Reacts. But some critics dismissed the Mulroney panel as a public relations ploy in Calgary. Before the Party of Canada Leader Preston Manning rejected reality to the federal initiative. Said Manning, whose party is running ahead of the Tories in opinion polls in much of the West: "One perception would be to see a series of constitutional conventions across the country at which delegates directly elected by the Canadian people would vote on proposals for constitutional change." Meanwhile, Ontario NDP Premier Bob Rae asserted that the country was a mass pursuing national problems that only

In fact, many of the details of how the new committee will work were unclear—signs of the haste with which the appointment had been made. One reason for the hurry was the government's desire to unveil the committee before Mulroney made a series of scheduled public appearances in Toronto this week. In fact, two officials plan to leave Mulroney's residence every day except on the country over the next two months—making the need for constitutional reform the central theme of many of his appearances.

Perhaps even more crucially, some Tories said that they wanted the Prime Minister to

make his announcement last week in order to head off the unexpected flurry of nationalist resolutions at the weekend meeting of the Quebec wing of the Conservative party.

Agrees. But the hurried timing caused a series of early problems. Although the two originally proposed a list of about 40 names for Mulroney's consideration as potential unity



Manning: a call for elected regional delegations

commissioners, the Prime Minister did not make his final selections until last week. Indeed, Spicer said that six names were chosen less than 48 hours before the House of Commons announcement. And, they mourned and that Mulroney intended to pressure him to cabinet by deciding at the last minute to increase the size of the commission to 12 members from 10 in order to improve regional representation. As a result, two appointees—Manitoba farmer Shaun Van de Walle and Saint John, N.B., Mayor Edith Whelan—were contacted less than two hours before Mulroney's speech in the Commons.

The committee also began its work with many of its members acquainted with one another.

Spicer, who said that he had previously met "about half" of the panelists, spent his first working day meeting several more, including Thomas Kurzman, a former businessman who now heads Toronto's C. D. Howe public policy research institute, Newfoundland. Kurzman even took Richard Gauthier and Quebec City newspaper publisher Robert Normand. Spicer also arranged for each commissioner to receive fax machines and telephone credit cards in order to facilitate their contact with one another. The committee's first full-fledged meeting, however, will not likely take place until a three-day planning session in mid-November in Ottawa. With full-time hearings beginning in January, the committee's report is due on Mulroney's desk by Canada Day next year.

But the committee has already agreed on some steps that it will take to select the views of as many Canadians as possible. One proposal is for a series of "satellite dialogues," in which willing radio or television stations broadcast live meetings between groups of people in different parts of the country. Another is for a series of small meetings in settings that would hold a maximum of 300 people. And by the end of last week, the committee had already established a national toll-free telephone number—1-800-96-8000—for Canadians to call with proposals or criticisms.

Black. Spicer was clearly anxious to get down to work. He said that he planned to start as early as this week by visiting the Inuit community of Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T., on the edge of the Arctic Circle, to hold his first public forum. The idea, said Spicer, "is to begin with the people who were part of the beginning of Canada."

But, for now, Spicer's colleagues on the commission appear eager but wary. Said Gauthier: "I don't have any doubts that we have a single mind." And Quebec's Normand said that only "anxious discussions at the level of 'anxious people' would reverse what he described as 'hostile feelings towards Quebec' and 'incomprehension in regard to Quebec's situation.'"

At the same time, the panelists acknowledged that there is no guarantee that these discussions will lead to any consensus. Said Spicer: "At the end of it all, the risk is that we may learn that Canadians did not get along together anymore." It is a risk, however, that the seven men and five women who accepted Mulroney's last-minute invitation gladly felt was worth the gamble—as long as it came with at least some hope for a notice awarded to the point of extinction by its own demands.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH with E. KANE POLYMER and JANCY WOOD in Ottawa, MALL GUNN in Vancouver, JOHN HUGHES in Calgary, PHIL KAMLA in Toronto and GLEN ALLEN in Halifax

SPORTABILITY



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PHILIPS

CROSS-CANADA CHECKUP

A PANEL WILL EXPLORE THE NATION'S SOUL

There's a mandate in it to ensure the country for the future of Canada. By next July, the three members of the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future must achieve—on behalf of all Canadians—their respective mandates. The Minister of Justice, Jean Chrétien, will be the Minister of Justice. "We are all still in the process of creating a new country," he said. "We are all still in the process of creating a new country."

Keith Spicer, 55, CRTC chairman
To the employees who worked under Spicer at the Ottawa Citizen for four years, the editor with the large white hair and dazzling social schedule was known as "Quake Spicer." It was only one of many nicknames in his eclectic assortment of careers that has led Spicer to his latest job as chairman of the Citizens' Forum. Born in Toronto, Spicer graduated from the Sorbonne in Paris in 1952 with a degree in French literature. In 1953–54, he worked for the Canadian Overseas Volunteers—completed a doctorate in political science at the University of Toronto. Later, he cultivated a reputation as a witty liner throughout shifts as a journalist, minority professor, businessman and comedian. His first official language course came between 1970 and 1971. As chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission since last year, he has provided criticism from the broadcast community that is regarded. When the Prime Minister asked him to head the citizens' forum three weeks ago, he refused. But Spicer, a devoted father of three, said that his children persuaded him to change his mind. "I am a father," he explained, "and we need to worry about the Canada our children will have."

Richard Chabon, 52, union leader
His background straddles the social spectrum of his native Newfoundland. Born into a working St. John's merchant family, he is president of the 50,000-member Public, Postal & Allied Workers Union. In 1968, he graduated from St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., where he was one of a debating team with dissident Brian Mulroney. From 1962 to 1968, Chabon served in Parliament as the Liberal MP for St. John's. After losing in the 1968 election, he practiced law in St. John's

and, in 1970, he helped found the fishermen's union. Observed Victor Young, chairman of St. John's-based Fishery Products International Ltd. and a frequent Chabon ally in later negotiations: "Richard will bring a few knives to the session."

Carol Cameron, 35, mayor leader
Mulroney last week erroneously described Cameron as a barrister and solicitor, not a

Congress. Cameron, who lives in Queen Charlotte City on the Queen Charlotte Islands, told Mulroney that she is excited about the prospect of working on the panel with "such a diverse group of people." She added, "It seems actually, a really ambitious."

Felix Fraser, 55, human rights commission
Montreal-born Felix (Felix) Fraser, now an 85-second resident and one of the black members of



Mulroney with Normand in Quebec City. "Unfalsely, a really ambitious"

former chief. In fact, the married mother of three said that she is none of those. The two active representatives on the constitutional task force. Cameron graduated from the University of British Columbia law school in June, and she has now delayed plans to begin attending with the Prince George, B.C., law firm of Hurdar Sattler Jones. Born in the northern B.C. community of Fort Nelson, Cameron is the writing editor, head measure of the Fort Nelson band and a representative to the First Nations

the citizens' panel, pursued a broadcasting career that took him from Toronto radio station studio operator in the early 1950s to Education television-show host in the 1970s. He has been a producer, writer and film producer, and has supervised an Alberta government program for alcoholics. Last year, he was appointed head of the Alberta Human Rights Commission. Said Fraser of his assignment to the panel: "There is now the possibility of not having a country. We better be serious."

Thomas Kiersey, 49, policy analyst
The head of the Toronto-based C. D. Howe Institute, an economic think-tank, Kiersey's experience as a senior executive for several Toronto investment firms between 1960 and 1968 will bring a Bay Street sensibility to the constitutional task force. The use of former Liberal cabinet minister Eric Kiersey, he was also a senior adviser to former Ontario premier William Davis and headed a federal study on energy options for the Mulroney government. Last week, Kiersey said that the citizens' panel "you need work," but added "I can't tell Mulroney for myself. As Tony Normand said, 'In saying, you may get your nose blooded, but you have to try'."

Robert Normand, 54, newspaper publisher
Normand is the only appointee to the constitutional panel with credentials as Quebec nationalist circles. He is 54, 14 years to the American Society in New York City. Normand

that he intended to keep his panel free of ideological intervention. At a news conference last week, Spicer quoted Shakespeare's soliloquy: "First thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers." Tied to the panel is the panel's experience in directly before Mulroney's personal from 1977 to 1985, which included a prominent role in constitutional reform as an architect of the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms. A Montreal native who lives near Ottawa in Quebec's Gatineau Hills, Tied left a private law practice two years ago to take up his present position as a vice-president of Bell Canada Enterprises. During the dying days of the Meech Lake accord, which he supported, Tied was elected by Mulroney as a vice-arranger to negotiate Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells in the accord's change recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society."

Susan Van de Velde, 43, farm activist
Scotch-born Van de Velde's base as a mem-

ber of the Ontario and upstart controversy earlier this year when she declared that homosexuals contributed to the destruction of the family. But last week, Wayne told Mulroney that she has "a lot of respect" for one of the longest opponents of Mulroney's last constitutional narrative—Newfoundland Premier Wells. Said Wayne: "I've been in the corner fighting all alone, too."

Jack Weisner, 72, former broadcaster
For more than 30 years, and his retirement in 1968, Weisner shocked and titillated listeners in his British Columbia radio and television talk shows with his glib, personable interview style. Born in Glasgow, Weisner arrived in Canada in 1947 after a seven-year career in the British army. He worked for The Vancouver Sun for six years and launched his talk-show career in 1962. An outspoken critic of Quebec demands for special constitutional status, the candidate for Scott made it clear last week that he would



Wayne: a populist politician who says that she respects Meech Lake opponent Clyde Wells

Thibault Piquet-Savoy, 56, civ official
In the past Quebec advertising firm Publicité 80R has been 1985, Piquet-Savoy rose to the post of president. During that time, he helped design the Quebec advertising for Pierre Trudeau's federal election campaign. Piquet-Savoy later rose as the chief of communications in charge of promotions and external communications. Three years ago, the United Nations appointed her extraordinary personal officer the body's public relations officer.

Roger Tassé, 38, constitutional lawyer
One of four finalists trusted in the law, Tassé is also a veteran of Canada's constitutional wars, including Meech Lake. Despite that, panel chairman Spicer, in a reference to the role of constitutional lawyer in the failed Meech Lake process, made a point of saying

pragmatism instead of farmers in a 3,000-acre grain and beef farm near Maniwagan, where she lives with her husband, Emmanuel, and her six children. Van de Velde, who moved to Canada with her 16, arrived on Montreal's Pier 21. Born in a small town in Quebec, she describes herself as "an ordinary Canadian," and adds that, in the face of her own assignment, "I feel a little overwhelmed about what we have to undertake."

Ethel Wayne, 58, mayor of Saint John, N.B.
Both Spicer and Mulroney declared last week that the unity panel should be free from the intervention of politicians. Clearly, they did not take into account Ethel Wayne. Since 1983, the mayor of Saint John has been a member of the 125,000. A small-C conservative, Wayne

remains a fiercely independent politician. Declared Weisner: "I'm not there as a flank for the Tory government. I'm not there as a friend of Mulroney's."

Heleen Zakrawski, 51, freelance writer
Born in Edmonton, Zakrawski graduated with a BA in English and Russian from the University of British Columbia in 1960 and then completed studies in film and television at what is now Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto. In 1961, she became one of the original 18-year-old volunteers at what later came to be called camp, a project initiated by Spicer as a graduate student. Later, she worked as a radio editor in Toronto and Vancouver, and as a radio producer in Calgary. Zakrawski, who is divorced, has two sons and lives with her 64-year-old mother, Sophie, in Abbotsford, B.C. □

DISSENT WITHIN THE RANKS

QUEBEC TORIES DEBATE THEIR FUTURE

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's announcement that a special 12-member panel would travel the country to seek Canadians' views on the Constitution was clearly carefully timed. He unveiled his initiative almost on the eve of the weekend gathering at Mont Ste-Anne, Que., of the native Quebec wing of his own Conservative party—and only days before the first meeting last week of the special committee established by the Quebec government to explore that province's future constitutional options. Both events had the potential to exacerbate Mulroney's administration by creating the impression of a hardening federal government under siege from within, while outside forces stake the initiative in promoting the unravelling of Canada. With his associates, the Prime Minister clearly aimed, at least in part, to pre-empt the Quebec nationalist faction within his own party, as well as the provincial commission. Said one member of Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's entourage: "At least now he can't be accused of falling into the Bourassa line."

But over the weekend, it became clear that Mulroney's initiative had not completely quelled the fires of dissent burning within the ranks of the Quebec Tories. At the three-day party caucus in Mont Ste-Anne, a 60-year-old man, 40 years north of Quebec City, told 600 provincial Tories gave Mulroney a warm welcome that did not obscure their evident impatience with the pace of constitutional reform. With public opinion polls in Quebec reflecting an increase in support for greater sovereignty, and with mounting pressure on the Tories from the outspoken independence forces of former cabinet minister Lucien Bouchard's Bloc Québécois, 14 of the party's Quebec riding associations presented resolutions at the conference with strongly nationalist tones. "It is the most," observed Quebec Tories' association and industry Minister René Boivin during the weekend meeting, "there is a firm consensus that the status quo is no longer acceptable. It is the beginning of a search for new options. This will bring with it sovereignty, cultural differences, sovereignty-association."

In fact, such words were a common thread



René Boivin, Quebec Minister, feeding the political heat from the separatists

running through the weekend's discussion. Mulroney served to encourage the angst when he told delegates, "I am not here to ask you to leapfrog. On the contrary, I am here to ask you to speak—and speak loudly." That invitation



was laid against the backdrop of a Quebec independence gathered in a banquet hall dominated with T-shirts bearing the word *sovereignty*.

And indeed, the Quebec Tories displayed a surprising range of opinions for Quebec's future relationship with the rest of the country. Most of the proposals advocated a lower level of reaped Canadian support. Conservative MP Charles DeBellef, for one, argued in favor of a concept labelled "independence," under which Canada would effectively be split into several independent, Swiss-style cantons with a federal authority controlling only the armed forces, foreign relations and monetary affairs. According to DeBellef, who represents the Que-



Michel Séguin, former chair of the National Bank, speaking into a microphone

bec City area riding of Montmorency/Dorval, confederates at parties would amount to something very similar to the new government's "sovereignty-plus." That Bourassa has also discussed as a remedy for the country's constitutional ills.

Radical: An equally radical vision came from the St-Hubert riding association of MP Pierre-Émile Versé. That resolution called for "sovereignty changes" in Canada's makeup that would split the country into five quasi-independent regions and drastically expand existing provincial powers. A resolution put forward by the members of MP Gilles Bessier's Desautels riding went a step further. It recommended that Quebec unilaterally declare sovereignty-association status if the constitutional question is not settled before the next federal election, due to be called by 1993. While the Tories voted to refer the final resolution to the Special committee, they rejected the more radical proposal from Versé.

For his part, Mulroney issued direct comment on the array of nationalist candidates during his 45-minute speech to the gathering on Saturday afternoon. Instead, he delivered a

spurred defence of the Conservative party's historic role in forging the Canadian Confederation—and urged his followers to follow the example of Europe, where average states are moving toward political integration in pursuit of economic prosperity. "I sense a will to unity across the country," declared Mulroney, who added, "It may require new structures, new processes. But there is emerging a new Canada. And I believe it will be a better Canada." But despite the Prime Minister's optimism to the Quebec Tories to at least nod toward the Canadian future, Mulroney's comments—led by Bouchard—were largely unenthusiastic, but occasionally, to the extent of the strictly ideological resolutions that were before them.

Stakes: And underlying all of the various proposals advanced at Mont Ste-Anne was a determination by Quebec's Tories to avoid being swept aside by sovereigntist sentiment that has been rising in the province ever since the March Lake agreement dismantled in late June. The political danger to the Tories in Quebec is evident in an October poll conducted by Quebec's Centre de recherche d'opinion publique (CROP). The federal party trailed in fourth place with the support of 16 per cent of devoted voters, compared with 32 per cent for the Bloc, 35 per cent for the Liberals and 23 for the NDP. "We have to send a message to the Prime Minister," said DeBellef, said on the eve of the meeting. "The Bloc Québécois is pushing at our backs. Our political life is at stake."

Fuelling the sense of urgency among Quebec Tories is the fact that the party has never been as connected to a strong provincial party repre-

sation. Before Mulroney's 1984 landslide, in which 56 of Quebec's 75 seats went to the Conservatives, the Tories had held only one Quebec riding. And a series of the controversial Tory Quebec province in the House of Commons, the party remains weak at a grass-roots level—its successes during the past two federal elections in that larger part in an ethnic alliance with provincial Liberal and Parti Québécois members. As one senior Quebec Conservative official acknowledged, "Effectively, we simply do not exist as a political organization beyond election time."

Any cohesion in Quebec is unlikely to improve since Quebec's own constitutional committee gets to work following the inaugural Nov. 6 meeting at Quebec City. The committee, chaired by Michel Séguin, former chair of the National Bank, and Jean Campeau, former head of Quebec's pension and rate insurance fund, is to report to the House of Commons by late November. The House will then have to decide on a new constitution for an independent Quebec.

"Quebec has given federalism a chance since the sovereignty-independence referendum in 1980," Lussier declared, "but the decision was made. A second would follow no later than June 1993, in order to approve a new constitution for an independent Quebec."



Quebec's personal and political troubles

source of dissent within the party. Pierre-Émile Versé, a member of the House of Commons, said that the government of former Quebec premier René Lévesque in 1984, after Lévesque's defeat, had stood on independence. Then, in 1987, Versé's preference, Pierre-Émile Versé, was forced to resign as party leader after the PQ membership, including Versé, voted against his efforts to make independence a necessary plank in the party platform. "The move is like Versé's," said former Quebec premier René Lévesque. "It could have been a white hat that it always escaped to escape again."

For his part, Versé says that he would give a PQ election victory as a mandate to negotiate Quebec's independence with Ottawa.

March 28. Few of the commission's three dozen members—most of whom represent the province's white francophone business and academic elite—expect that they will reach consensus agreement. Still, the hearings are hoped to provide an additional forum for sovereignty rhetoric, which will bring even greater pressure to bear on Quebec Conservatives to either rule the nationalist wave—or face the possibility of a second referendum.

Game: One indication of what the Quebec commission can expect unfolded last week, when one of its members, Gerold Lussier, who is also president of the 150,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions, unveiled his organization's constitutional proposals. The federation, which is the second-largest labor organization in Quebec, called for a referendum on independence to be held next June. If voters approved independence in principle at that referendum, a second would follow no later than June 1993, in order to approve a new constitution for an independent Quebec.

"Quebec has given federalism a chance since the sovereignty-independence referendum in 1980," Lussier declared, "but the decision was made. A second would follow no later than June 1993, in order to approve a new constitution for an independent Quebec."

BART CASE in Mont Ste-Anne

SOVEREIGNTY NOW OR LATER?

As a private citizen as well as leader of the separatist Parti Québécois (PQ), Jacques Parizeau has lived through never times. On Sept. 20, his wife of 34 years, Paula, lost her 10-year-old daughter, Patricia, died at a long struggle with cancer. And, although his party has surged ahead of Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberals in political opinion polls, Parizeau has political troubles as well. The 40-year-old former Quebec finance minister found himself among party members who challenge his policy of a gradual approach to Quebec independence. The latest threat came last week: rejecting Parizeau's mandate that say more to be in independence first need with public approval at a referendum. Parizeau says Jean Garon would call a PQ government should declare independence on the strength of an election victory. Declared Garon, a veteran member of the PQ: "The people want to fight for their conditions—and that means sovereignty."

In fact, the question of the PQ's approach to Quebec's sovereignty has long been a



Parizeau's personal and political troubles

Not the final declaration of independence, along with a proposed constitution, would require ratification by Quebecers in a public referendum. But even PQ's own leaders acknowledge that the pressure to move more quickly to reach independence is unlikely to ease. Said Parizeau and party militant Frédéric Moreau: "People are impatient."

At the same time, critics have begun to question whether Parizeau has the personal appeal and popularity to carry on the party's mission in the next federal election. PQ supporters generally think former Liberal cabinet minister Lucien Bouchard—now leader of the Bloc Québécois in the House of Commons—should take over the party. Other party members, however, such as Quebec's St-James PQ cabinet minister Bernard Landry. "Parizeau is destined for independence—and if Parizeau who deserves to lead us there." But it is clear that the next campaign within the PQ could lead to a bitter party divide—and also a deepening fight over the leadership itself.

DAN EINHORN in Montreal

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

THE REGIONS SEEK THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS

The idea has been a theme of political life in the Maritimes for well over a century. And last week, prompted by a ringing 49-page report by Prince Edward Island-born Clive McMillan, the premiers of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island once again considered turning these three provinces into one economic unit at a meeting in Charlottetown. McMillan, a professor at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland, warned the three men that their provinces must act together if they are not to sink separately into economic oblivion. Noting that "the Maritimes are in a vicious circle of dependence and inward-looking situation," McMillan urged the premiers to abolish interprovincial trade barriers, co-ordinate government negotiations and establish a common development fund. In response, the premiers agreed that their ministers would hold an unprecedented joint meeting in Atlantic townships in 1989 to discuss the content of what New Brunswick's Frank McKenna described as "a Maritime common market."

That initiative was just one indication of an emerging regional emphasis on economic survival. Many of the country's premiers have shared the conviction that a strong economy is more important to Canada's survival as a nation than constitutional reform. And last week, provincial governments with the federal government's prodding, with the Confederation Institute clear as several provinces engaged in their own efforts to find solutions to their economic ills. Spearheaded by British Columbia, the four Western provinces are negotiating decisions aimed at carefully reworking their local relations with Ottawa in October. Premier Bob Rae called for a first ministers conference as the economy "flirts with a recession," said Rae, "and I'll be surprised if, as going to Nova Scotia fishing, canoeing, or farming communities in Saskatchewan, or industrial communities in Ontario, there was a lot of heated discussion of the Confederation."

Turmoil: In fact, proposals from the country's eastern and western provinces to restructure their regional economies predate the turmoil over the Confederation. McMillan's report on Maritime economic survival, for one, was actually completed in December, 1986—well before the demise of the Meech Lake constitutional accord last June. But uncertainty over Canada's future, along with anxiety over Ottawa's deficit-driven determination to reduce federal financial transfers to the provinces, has given new urgency to the search for regional solutions. Said Alastair Sinclair, an



McKenna: pressing economic revival

economist at Dalhousie University in Halifax. "The [McMillan] report was written prior to Meech Lake. But it is even more critical now."

Similar strategies are taking shape at the other end of the country. The B.C. government, as well as pushing for a combined economic effort by the western provinces, has worked for at least two years to build a regional economic base among the 41 million people who live along the Canadian and American Pacific Coast—a move that provincial officials say should lead to improved trade and investment with such Pacific Rim nations as Japan. To that end, B.C. Premier Wilton Vander Zalm signed a new pact with California in September to co-operate on shared economic and environmental concerns. Similar agreements already exist between the province and the states of Alaska and Washington. While Vander Zalm stressed that he was promoting economic, not political, union, he told reporters in September that the trade network should improve his province's bargaining position when the time comes to renegotiate Confederation. Said Vander Zalm: "I expect Confederation will be very different 10 years from now—a lesser type of Confederation."

Drains: Meanwhile, B.C. Finance Minister Mel Couillard is leading an even more direct challenge to the federalist status quo. In July, Couillard and the other three western finance ministers outlined several dramatic options for reworking fiscal relations between their provinces and Ottawa. One option, known as disemployment, would see Ottawa withdraw entirely from certain areas of provincial jurisdiction—among them, education and forestry. Another proposal calls for the regional collection of income taxes to fund distinct provincial social and economic programs that might drift from those elsewhere in Canada.

Last week, Couillard told *Maclean's* that he plans to present those options, and others, at a meeting of all provincial finance ministers, which he expects will be held within the next month. At the same time, he said that he remains skeptical about Ottawa's new paid-up national unity, because its mandate ignores the country's pressing economic concerns. Said Couillard: "The issue of the federal debt and the fiscal relationship between Ottawa and the provinces is crucial to Canada's continued existence." On the prescription for the country's survival, Ottawa and the provinces plainly agree.

BRIAN BERNARD and GLEN ALLAN in Halifax and NAL QUINN in Vancouver

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A time for healing

Emotions still divide Oka and Kahnawake

Michael Beaulieu and Gordon Oka share a problem, rooted in geography. They live on opposite sides of the great divide where, for 76 tormented days last summer, barricades separated the predominantly French-speaking town of Oka from the Mohawk village of Kahnawake. Both Beaulieu, a 42-year-old francophone insurance broker, and Oka, a 43-year-old Mohawk federal civil servant, suffered as a result of the crisis sparked by the building of the barricades. Beaulieu's business evaporated. Oka's job as a federal employment counselor skidded to a halt. But now that the barricades are down, Beaulieu and Oka still have something in common. They are both trying to rebuild the shattered harmony between the two communities overlooking the bulge on the Ottawa River known as the Lake of Two Mountains. "We are all stuck in the same boat, so we might as well sit down together to talk," said Beaulieu. Added Oka: "The wounds will take time to heal, but it is a process that none of us can avoid."

It is a process that will be painful and protracted. Both the federal and Quebec gov-



Oka: trying to restore the shattered harmony

COURTESY OKA

ernments have embarked on programs designed to attack, at least in part, some of the problems responsible for the crisis, which began on July 11 with an unsuccessful Mohawk-led Quebec (SQ) raid on a Mohawk barricade at Oka. One SQ officer died in the confrontation, which precipitated an armed standoff between the Mohawks on one side of the barricades and the SQ, and later the Canadian military, on the other. The crisis finally came to an end in September when the remaining Mohawk holdouts emerged from a detoxification centre at Kahnawake and surrendered to authorities in Ottawa. Federal officials are now searching for ways to transfer ownership of the contentious plot of land that started the dispute—acres purchased by Ottawa—40 Kahnawake's Mohawks. The provincial government in Quebec City, meanwhile, has unveiled a multi-million-dollar plan to compensate the victims of the summer's crisis, both native and white.

But at the same time, there are undertones that threaten to inflame events. Quebec courts have already begun hearing cases against some of the 48 Mohawks charged with a variety of criminal offences. Among white residents of the south shore of the St. Lawrence, resentment continues to simmer over the actions of Mohawks at the Kahnawake reserve, who after

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CANADA

The July 11 gelco attack at Oka reopened a spotty blockade of the Merrett Bridge, the main artery connecting the region's business communities with the island of Manitowish. Many of those residents are also unhappy with the scale of provincial involvement.

In Ottawa, considerable critics say that the federal government's failure to tackle in any meaningful way the underlying issue of native sovereignty continues to provoke widespread Indian resentment. Last week, Georges Erasmus, head of the Assembly of First Nations, for one, predicted further unrest if Ottawa appeared set to have "learned the lessons of the summer." Despite that warning, the Conservative majority on the House of Commons committee on aboriginal affairs has resisted opposition demands for a full inquiry into the roots of the Oka crisis.

The residents of Oka and Kanehsatà, however, say that the need for immediate action is unacceptable. The dispute that began over the town's plan to extend a golf course onto land claimed by the Mohawks has caused severe damage to the social and economic fabric of both communities. Municipal officials in Oka estimate that the town's 152 business establishments—80 per cent of them involved in the tourist trade—lost between \$13 million and \$12 million between the July 13 Quebec police raid and the final dismantling of the barriers late in September. More than 1,000 people were left off, including the 14 members of the staff of Beaudin's restaurant. "I was closed from Day 1," remarked Beaudin as he gleefully slammed his fingers upon a pink tablecloth in his elegant but deserted dining establishment overlooking the Lake of Two Mountains. "I guess I've lost around \$65,000—maybe as much as \$75,000."

The situation was similar several kilometers to the north along Highway 244, where 1,800 Mohawks live on a patchwork of Crown lands and around the little village of Kanehsatà. Officials at the local Mohawk band council do not have an estimate of the economic damage reflected on the community. But Chief Jerry Blaney, a member of the council, claimed that more than 80 per cent of Kanehsatà's residents fled the area after July 11—including all nine members of the council itself. Most of those who chose to remain were trapped within the barricades, unable to report to work outside Oka. An employment officer at the Canada Manpower centre in nearby St-Jean-de-la-Rivière, was among them. "I took an instant look back," he said as he sat sipping a soft drink in the modest bungalow he occupies on the edge of Highway 244. "I could not really see myself providing adequate professional counsel to other people when my own head was spinning with all that was going on right here."

Neither Blaney nor Oka were idle during the crisis, however. Rail boats have since been authorized by a decree to rebuild the bridges between local business and non-business that last summer's crisis destroyed. Even in the road-off community, Beaudin began negotiating Oka's businesses into a Chamber of Commerce, a body that finally came into existence in Sep-

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CANADA

his complaints last week to the International Court of Justice at The Hague and the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France. Norcia, who travelled on an Air Canada-Confederacy passport and was accompanied by representatives from Kamekwa, briefed the world court and members of the European Parliament on what Kamekwa officials described as Canada's "colonist and oppressive laws" regarding natives.

But it is not only the Indians on Montreal's South Shore who are angry at the provincial authorities. Many white residents in communities around Kamekwa have complained a loud roar they view as the inadequacy of the province's compensation plan. Under the program, the province will reimburse an estimated 1,300 businesses that suffered financial losses as a result of last summer's crisis, up to a maximum of \$300,000 apiece.

That program is greeted steadily by business in Qikiqtaaluk as the not more South Shore community of Chikmagou, which was most affected by the Miramichi Bridge blockade. Indeed, the chambers of commerce in both communities quickly expressed satisfaction with Quebec City's progress. "I am particularly satisfied with the fact that we have been assured the plan will be doubly administered," said Paul Chamberland, president of the Chikmagou Chamber of Commerce, in a comment that was echoed by Qikiqtaaluk's leader.

But businessmen outside the two directly affected communities say that they were left out. In St-Catharines, for one, a community to the east of Kamekwa, the businessmen's association said that commerce also suffered there during the prolonged crisis. In a statement, the association accused of "a mass protest movement" among businessmen in the entire South Shore unless steps were taken to widen the program.

At the same time, it is clear that the stage is set for further native protests. The fear for that potential must not already have been in it, with the presentation of four dozen Mohawks involved in the summer's standoff. During the long negotiations over the summer to end the standoff, Mohawk representatives unsuccessfully pressed a demand that those involved in the showdown be granted amnesty. But federal and Quebec negotiators rejected the demand. And preliminary hearings into charges against several of the Mohawks who had caused the barricade began on Oct. 22. Those men—Ronald Cross, Gordon Lamer and Roger Lamer—were present at the Quebec court at St-Jérôme, 30 km north of Montreal, to face dozens of charges that include assault and causing death threats. Cross, who during the Qikiqtaaluk blockade turned under his coat into a flamethrower, also continues all separate charges. Many charges were read against a fourth Mohawk involved in the blockade, Dennis Nicholas, in the same court last week. Clearly, the wounds suffered during the long, hot Indian summer will not disappear in the cold winds of winter.

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BLOODSHEEP IN HOLY BATTLE

As strikers had selected the auspicious time, 9:44 a.m. on Tuesday, Oct. 30. And as the innocent cases, more than 20,000 Hindu devotees, led by holy men whose bodies were covered only in sacred ash, stormed the Babri Masjid mosque in the northern Indian town of Ayodhya. They were determined to destroy the 16th-century structure in order to make way for a temple on the site, which Hindus claim is the birthplace of their god Ram, the human incarnation of the supreme being, Vishnu. Police protecting the mosque opened fire on the advancing crowd. Still, more after wave of devotees continued to attack. About 50 militants who broke through the police cordon climbed onto the mosque's white dome, hacking them with crowbars. By the time troops regained control of the town, at least 180 Hindus had been killed. At least nine others died in a second attack on the mosque three days later. And across India last week, more than 150 people died in Hindu-Muslim rioting, heightening a bitter sectarian crisis that has driven the 11-month-old majority government of Prime Minister Vajpayee's Bharatiya Janata Party to the brink of collapse.

The government crisis actually came to a head on Oct. 23, when police arrested Jas. Kishore Advani, leader of the Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata party, as Advani and other Hindus marched toward the mosque 500 km southeast of New Delhi in the state of Uttar Pradesh. For the past year, Singh's National Front coalition government had relied on the parliamentary backing of Advani's party and, after Advani's arrest, it promptly withdrew its support. President Karmacharya Venkateshwar set Nov. 7 as the date on which Prime Minister Singh must face a vote of confidence in the lower house of Parliament. The last of the confidence vote, the president would then call an early general election. In the wake of last week's violence, the next election campaign seems certain to be fraught with sectarian tensions, including anti-Muslim opposition among students at the A. B. Jodhpur University government jobs for low-caste Hindus declared the National Front ally campaigner. "The first that have been it will be difficult to control."

HINDUS ATTACK A MOSQUE IN INDIA, SPARKING RIOTS AMID A CRISIS THAT THREATENS TO TOPPLE SINGH

Ironically, the temple dispute played a large part in Singh's victory at the polls last November—just a month before the building, hundreds of people died in Hindu-Muslim clashes after then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi failed to prevent Hindus from laying a Hindu temple foundation stone at the Ayodhya mosque. Gandhi's Congress 10 party, which had ruled the country for all but three years since independence from Britain in 1947, lost its traditional support among the country's 190 million Muslims, 12 per cent of India's population of 850 million. Plagued also by charges of corruption, Gandhi was forced to hasten his election defeat. Singh's National Front alliance formed a coalition government with the support of Bharatiya Janata and two Communist parties, but without a clear majority. Singh has spent the past year trying to control not only the rising Hindu, but also political opponents within his own party.

Last summer, Singh became embroiled in an unseemly dispute with his own deputy prime minister, Devi Lal. A peasant leader with wide appeal among Punjab's lower classes, Lal openly challenged Singh for the party leadership. When Singh dismissed him from cabinet, Lal staged a massive farmers' rally in



New Delhi, declaring war on what he called India's "urban elite." On the demolition, Singh announced his controversial plan to reserve 27 per cent of all government jobs for middle- and low-caste Hindus, adding to the 22.5 per cent of government jobs already reserved for the lowest caste—Brahmins—amounting to nearly 40,000 the number of jobs reserved on a caste basis. Although easy discrimination is illegal in India, in rural areas the caste into which a Hindu is born still predominantly has or her marriage partner, occupation and even the neighborhood in which he or she can live. Singh held his new policy as a "momentary step towards social justice."

But the decision provoked mass revolt among higher-caste, educated groups, in a country where 20 million college graduates are unemployed. Since August, thousands of students have rampaged through cities, burning homes and towns. At least 50 of them have committed suicide. "Singh is a traitor," declared Sanyas Prasad, a post-graduate student at New Delhi's highly regarded Metru University. "He won't be satisfied

before a million students die." India's Supreme Court, embroiled with petitions challenging the constitutional validity of the job reservation policy, finally intervened on Oct. 1, ruling that the program must be suspended until all the petitions are heard.

Even as tensions started to cool, Hindu militants declared their intention to march to Ayodhya. Starting in the western state of Gujarat, Advani himself led out on a 2,000 km trek to the holy site in a chariot—mounted on top of a Toyota truck. Along the way, Hindu devotees showered him with flowers and ems and even offered up bowls of their blood to signal their support for his campaign. Even after his arrest, Hindu militants vowed to destroy the Ayodhya mosque. They held police prevented all but minor damage to the mosque. But across the country last week, Hindus organized their renewed sobriety, setting off fireworks and distributing candy in a gesture of triumph. Declared British Rajiv, a government office clerk in New Delhi, "Hindus have shown the way that they can unite and fight for their goals."

Indian analysts say that if Singh fails to win the confidence motion in Parliament this week, and the president calls new elections, the campaign is certain to be fraught along sectarian lines. Singh would appeal to ethnic minorities and lower castes, while the Bharatiya Janata party would rally Hindu revivalists. Those strategies may back: both factions. In a recent national opinion poll published by New Delhi's Sunday *Mit* weekly newspaper, a majority of respondents said that, despite the rising tide of caste and ethnic tensions, they were more concerned about inflation and government stability. And Rajiv Chandra, a noted expert on modern Indian history, said that "the Indian people are likely to reject any party which cannot promise them a stable government."

The Sunday *Mit* poll showed that the most likely beneficiary of India's current problems will be Gandhi, who negotiated 32-per-cent support compared with Singh's 37 per cent. It has Congress 10 party with the next election, it would prove a spectacular political resurrection for a man who was defeated just 13 months ago—largely for his inability to control ethnic violence in a country that has been used the horrors of Hindu-Muslim massacres when British partitioned the subcontinent to form the independent states of India and Pakistan 45 years ago. Peace and stability will seem distant dreams.

MARY KENNETH with AP/WIDE
in New Delhi

EMBRACING CAPITALISM

The Russian Federation formally launched a radical 500-day plan to grasp the Soviet Union's lost capital to a market economy by late 1992. The federation's industrial action places it on a collision course with the Kremlin, which favors a slower pace at economic reform throughout the country.

PULLING OUT OF BEIRUT

After 15 years of civil war that has cost more than 100,000 lives, Lebanon's rival Christian and Muslim militias agreed to withdraw from Beirut, allowing Syrian-backed President Hafez Assad to reassert the divided capital. On Oct. 13, Lebanese and Syrian government troops crushed an 11-month-long rebellion by Gen. Michel Aoun, paving the way for Beirut's national reconciliation government to extend its authority to Christian East Beirut.

A PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE

The Pakistan Muslim League, the largest group of the one-party Islamic Democratic Alliance that won parliamentary elections on Oct. 24, nominated Nawaz Sharif as the new prime minister. Sharif, 42, is a protégé of military president Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, who died in 1988. According to Pakistan People's Party officials, former prime minister Benazir Bhutto, who claimed that the election was rigged, might accept the results only if it opposed the new government. Sharif agreed not to pursue serious changes that she should her powers while in office.

NORWAY'S NEW GOVERNMENT

Norway's Labor party leader, Gro Harlem Brundtland, won backhand office parties to form a new majority government. The center-right coalition government collapsed in a controversy over its plans for the country to join the European Community.

AVERTING DEFIAT

Movements before a crucial vote of confidence in Parliament, Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey faced a scandal-plagued deputy, presidential nominee Brian Lalor, and a narrow margin of certain defeat of his coalition government. Lalor had allegedly admitted having telephoned President Patrick Hillery during a 1982 government crisis to persuade him to appoint Haughey as prime minister when the coalition was in a general election. On the eve of Nov. 7 presidential elections, polls showed that Lalor's loss would bring a new government to power. Lalor has pledged to liberate Ireland's tough laws on divorce and contraception.

THE SOVIET UNION

Militant Moldova

Ethnic unrest unsettles another republic

Declarations of independence have become as common as ethnic unrest and economic complaints in the Soviet Union's 15 republics. Since Latvia began the process last March, all but Kazakhstan in Central Asia have sought to either break or sever ties with Moscow. But in the near-triangles into a patchwork of diverse groups, demands for self rule are no longer limited to the republics themselves. Last week, a Turkic-speaking minority known as the Gaguz pushed Moldova's tiny Moldavia to the verge of civil war as it tried to establish an independent homeland in the southwestern republic between Ukraine and Romania. Authorities in Kishinev, the Moldovan capital, declared a state of emergency and dispatched thousands of soldiers to stop local elections in Gaguz-controlled territory. At the republic's request, the Kremlin also sent security forces to act as buffers between the Moldavians and the Gaguzs. Dr. Prizy, even as representatives from the two sides met to try to resolve the dispute, Moldovans threatened to kill Soviet guards on the Romanian border unless the troops were withdrawn.

Such nationalist clashes have not only splintered the Soviet Union but, according to President Mikhail Gorbachev, threatened the economic and political reforms that have brought it a new union treaty. During the past year alone, ethnic violence has erupted in Uzbekistan, in Georgia, and between predominantly Christian Armenians and its Muslim neighbor Azerbaijan. In Moldova, there were reports at the weekend that as many as 30 people were killed and 50 wounded in clashes between police and armed criminals. "We are very alarmed by the situation in Moldova," Gorbachev said in Soviet television. "There are signs of major aggression today and then there might be more trouble."

The Moldovan conflict is rooted in history. In 1940, Soviet dictator Josef Stalin annexed the then-Romanian province of Bessarabia and, adding a small strip of land on the left bank of the Dniester River, created the republic of Moldavia. Over the past year, the republic has re-emphasized its Romanian connection. The parliament has designated Romanian as the official language, replaced the Cyrillic script with the Latin alphabet and adopted Romania's takeovers and not flag. But while many Moldavians advocate reunification with Romania, the prime minister, Marius Dru, has said that he would prefer an independent Moldova as a free trade zone between a loose aggregation of independent Soviet republics and the West. On June 23, Moldova formally declared its sovereignty.

The nationalist fervor has stirred the Gaguz, a tightly knit group descended from Christians who fled religious persecution in Turkey nearly two centuries ago. Forming about three per cent of Moldova's population of 4.3 million, they have laid claim to the southwestern corner of the republic, or 13 per cent of its territory, where most work as farmers or



Soviet soldiers welcomed by Moldavians in Kishinev: nationalist fervor

shepherds. On Oct. 30, ignoring the fact that the Moldovan legislature had declared this new republic to be unconstitutional, 700 Gaguz delegates met in the city of Kamrat and elected Stepan Topal, a 53-year-old civil engineer, as their first president. According to the Soviet news agency TASS, Topal expressed his willingness to hold talks with the Moldovan authorities—but only after order was restored. Said Topal: "Violence must be withdrawn from the border creates favorable conditions for a constructive dialogue."

To that end, leaders from both sides persuaded many of the Moldovan volunteers and Gaguz supporters to leave the area. Despite those efforts, tensions remained high near the Romanian border. On Oct. 31, an estimated 3,000 Gaguz militants attacked a Soviet checkpoint at the town of Ryskova, getting it

with stones, setting fire to a fence and threatening to kill the guards. Romania and Soviet reporters have been banned from the area since Moldovan authorities declared the state of emergency on Oct. 30. But, according to TASS, the militants' goal was an attempt to influence demands that the two regiments of Soviet armor infantry troops be replaced with Moldovan police.

In their quest for independence, the Gaguz have the open support of the republic's ethnic Russian minority. And in a move that seemed destined to cause more divisions, ethnic Russians from the Dniester region have expressed acceptance aspirations of their own last week, they announced that they would hold elections on Nov. 20 for a separate Dniester republic.

In a sense, Moldova is a microcosm of the difficulties facing the Soviet Union: ethnic op-

posed threatening to destroy any chance of economic reform. Republican Prime Minister Dru has acknowledged that social unrest has dimmed his dreams of prosperity for a region widely known for its wheat and grapes. Said Dru: "All of our economic, social, cultural and political problems can and will be solved if there is peace, tranquility and mutual understanding in our common home." But as the republic's capital, many Moldovans preferred to focus on their spiritual and material concerns. The formation of the first unit is a republican army, a battalion equipped with 20 trucks and buses that were purchased through public donations. At the moment, troubled Moldova is better known for marching soldiers than for investment opportunities.

MALCOLM GRAZ in Moscow

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THE PERSIAN GULF

Bombing by night

Analysts sketch a scenario for a Gulf war

The threat of war in the Persian Gulf loomed larger than ever last week—so large that to many analysts it seemed no longer a question of "if" but "when," the fighting would start. President George Bush snapped that he had "had it" with the way that Iraq was treating U.S. hostages and diplomats. Secretary of State James Baker warned that

There was "a kind of the international community's paymaster" over Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said Washington's most hawkish ally, and that the more than 500,000-strong multinational force in the Gulf had all the authority it needs to launch military operations. Editorial Assistant Joe Clark returned his warning that some of Canada's nearly 1,600-strong air and ground contingent might not return due to a "catastrophe" in the Gulf itself, the U.S. commander, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, said that his forces could celebrate long, although that might not be the long-term military end of the region. And as Iraq President Saddam Hussein put his troops on full alert, his information minister, Latif Nassif al-Jabouri, said the "Iraqi army" expected war "at any moment."

administration was not planning an offensive until early December. From then on, analysts said, a window of opportunity would be open during the relatively cool winter months, which are more suitable for military operations, and stay open until mid-March, when hot weather returns and the holy month of Ramadan begins. Moslems observe to South Asia, the site of



Salaci's latest stories, *Mecca and Medina*.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Bruce Malroy, who keeps in close touch with the White House, has had no private conversations with associates that Bush has few options but war. And the form of a likely U.S.-led offensive was the subject of intense discussions by military and

Any Iraqi tanks or infantry formations that moved out across open desert to counter the threat would be easy targets for attack by allied helicopter gunships and A-10 aircraft, the so-called tank-busters.

That is the theory. But again, in practice it may be a different matter, experts said. Even

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WORLD

with the expected U.S. reinforcements, the Iraqis would enjoy at least a 2-to-1 numerical advantage in men and perhaps as much as a 4-to-1 in tanks. Conventional military doctrine holds that at least a 3-to-1 advantage is needed for a successful attack on well-entrenched defenses. And it is by no means certain that America's super-sophisticated weaponry, designed for use in the European theatre, would function

if used when Phase 2 was successfully accomplished. The U.S.-led forces might take on the daunting task of capturing Kuwait City. That would likely involve a mass landing by marines from the sea, coordinated with an assault from the desert by U.S. airborne forces and a gnat street-by-street, house-by-house battle. Even if successful, the operation to liberate Kuwait could result in thousands of allied casualties

taken. Hauser deposed and his non-making potential smothered. That would obviously set for a major new phase in the campaign. And then there is always what some analysts call "the factor" — "the standing for Iraq." If Hussein decides that a U.S. attack is imminent and that he has no chance of survival, he may decide to launch a long range missile strike against Israel, hoping to turn his fight against the Americans and their allies into an Arab-Israeli crusade. In that event, Israel would almost certainly launch a massive retaliatory strike. And if Iraq used chemical or biological weapons against Israeli cities, analysts speculate that Israel might even respond with the nuclear weapon that it is known to possess. And military analyst Maj. Gen. Thomas, a retired U.S. defence department planner who has constructed a computer model that he says closely resembles the Pentagon's analysis: "The situation is fraught with potential for escalation into a much larger conflict of global proportions." And Paul Secares, publisher of the authoritative London-based *Jane's Defence Weekly*, said that conflict in the Gulf will be "a total war scenario" if it added. "It can't be anything else."



Bavly: Massive army analysts said that a Persian Gulf war was now inevitable.



well under desert conditions. The American's formidable Apache helicopters are susceptible to sand damage and, some experts say, need servicing after as little as two hours of flying time. Experts also say that the strain of desert air. If a U.S. tank is pushed to the limits of sand, it would have to drop out of combat every few hours to be refilled and have its gas turbine engine overhauled.

and the destruction of the emirate's oil facilities by Iraq scorched-earth tactics. The remaining tanks, the al-Sabab family, could well find that there is a ghost army, its huge oil extraction industry dismantled, and its tiny 700,000-strong native population decimated.

Those accounts take no account of the possibility that Bush may decide that it is not enough to liberate Kuwait—that Iraq must be

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HIGH STAKES AND CANADIAN LIVES

As war clouds gathered over the Persian Gulf last week, Mackenzie's Ottawa-Dundas Club Auditorium welcomed back Clark, former Attorney General for Clark.

Mackenzie's The newly revealed that Canadians should prepare themselves for the fact that some of our armed forces people in the Middle East might die in combat. Risk that situation deliberately intended to shock the public out of complacency? Clark? I think it is important for Canadians to understand that the stakes here are higher, that the prospect for conflict is greater, than anything we have been relieved with for a long time. Mackenzie's The mystery happened after you first made their remarks that would

make you feel more optimistic or pessimistic? Clark: No. I am very worried that we could be faced with a situation where we will have to turn to military action. There are hopes, but we have no reason to believe they are having an effect on Saddam Hussein. The issue is, when do we need to? We do not have to answer to that. I think it is always dangerous to establish artificial deadlines, just to use the because self-defence purposes. There have to be some time limits established, but it does not think there is a magnitude by which it is not happened. I will Mackenzie's Are you concerned that there may be some splintering of the countries' solid against Iraq war now? Clark: That is a concern. One of the dangers is, when does one serve? There is an argument that some Soviet States have because a minority of factors could cause a splintering of the coalition against Iraq. There is the other argument that time, particularly if it is accompanied by the assurance that we have now, will connect them that he is on options

Mackenzie's How often are you in communication with Washington? On a daily basis? Clark: Yes. And not just with Washington. We are in touch with the French, the British, the Soviet. One of the other things we are doing is having in touch with neutral nations, whose countries are not among the 25 countries in the coalition. Mackenzie's Do ordinary Canadians read the stakes? Clark: I think they are becoming aware. The reality of this conflict is that we are very directly involved. It is not simply because we have Canadian troops. If there has been one constant element of Canadian foreign policy since the Second World War, it has been the establishment of the role of international institutions. If the United Nations cannot stop this aggression, that is not simply an Iraq-Kuwait question. It becomes an open question whether aggression elsewhere in the world. On the contrary, if we can stop it, a credible substance the history of internationalism.



Aquino with Lenzel: already a broad field of presidential aspirants for 1992

THE PHILIPPINES

A nation on the brink

Aquino faces economic and political turmoil

Mrs Teresa set at the site of Manila's Ermita Street last week with her one-year-old son, surrounded by newly elected pairs of scow-worn and glib-tongued men who had been his father since 1984. Yes, in the days to be elected, and she was not so much a political figure as a woman who had been elected to the Philippine government but told her it would be demolished anyway as part of a real economic project. Now she was waiting for a government truck to come for her and her mother, belonging to President Lenzel in Manila Bay, a temporary relocation site for displaced squatters. This is one of an estimated two million squatters in Manila, the sprawling, filthy and overcrowded Philippine capital. She is part of what President Corason (Cory) Aquino refers to as the "bottom 30 per cent" of society, which Aquino insists is her top priority. "When Cory was elected, we all hoped for change," said Mrs. Bat, who added with a laugh, "change can be bad or good." Asked if she would vote for Aquino again, she replied, "I'd have to think twice. Maybe three times."

When Aquino was swept into office in 1986 by the People Power revolt that ended 21 years of authoritarian rule under Ferdinand Marcos, she proclaimed that "the long agony is over." But nearly five years into her second term, there has been no radical change, and the Southeast Asian island nation continues to

slide into chaos, poverty and despair. To be sure, the 57-year-old widow, who reluctantly entered politics only after the 1983 assassination of her husband, opposition leader Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino, has had to face a host of daunting obstacles, among them: a bloody coup attempt by right-wing military officers; a persistent 21-year Communist insurgency; an anti-operative program, widespread corruption, a crippling foreign debt—now devastating national disaster. A growing number of Filipinos, however, say that many of the country's problems are of Aquino's own making. "There has never been a weaker executive branch than this one," said Amanda Dorcas, editor of the daily Manila Chronicle. "Other presidents were accused of exceeding their powers, but this is the only one that is reluctant to use power to create political and economic opportunities."

Recently, a series of increasingly ruthless natural and man-made calamities have compounded Aquino's beleaguered government. In July, an earthquake killed 1,650 people and devastated Baguio City, one of the nation's most popular resorts. Landslides and damaged roads from the quake combined with a severe drought to reduce agricultural output. And over the past three months, rampant right-wing dissidents bombed more than 40 government offices and private businesses in Manila. Said Aquino's press secretary, Tomas (Toby)

Gerona: "Can you imagine what we could have achieved if we were not so deeply in debt and if there weren't those constant failed coups?"

The combination of the two has taken a toll: the \$39-billion foreign debt consumes a staggering 40 per cent of the annual budget, while the coups have scared away investors and tourists.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf has also had an adverse impact. Filipino workers there are a major source of hard currency, but 25,000 of them lost their jobs in Iraq and Kuwait after Iraq's Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait. Increased oil prices, combined with a falling government deficit and a severe shortage of foreign exchange, have caused analysts to question whether the government will be able to pay its debts. Meanwhile, the Philippine peso has lost about 25 per cent of its value already this year. And last week, the central bank announced a major devaluation of the currency, which is likely to set off a new round of price increases.

On the Manila streets, there is pervasive resignation. Eleonora Ramos, 41, was sitting last week at the Rotonda, one of the main squares for the city's brightly painted, red-roofed houses as jeepneys. Ramos drives her jeepney 12 hours a day and takes home 200 pesos, or about \$4.30. Although that is adequate by Manila standards, Ramos said that, two months ago, she was earning \$12.50 a day. Of Aquino, he said simply, "She's no good." Ramos blurted out her rising prices and inflation, now running at about 14 per cent. "Even the crocodiles have a good time," he sneered, referring to the police who strike down jeepney drivers for traffic violations, both said and snarled. Asked when he would like to see a president, Ramos replied, "They're all the same."

The problem, analysts say, is that although Aquino and her supporters vowed a decision in 1986, they are descendants of the people whom American colonizers cultivated to run the country after taking possession of it at the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Only a tiny percentage of the affluent bourgeoisie pay taxes. In a largely agricultural society where millions live in grinding poverty, there has been no significant land reform in a legislature dominated by landlords. "For the elite," said political analyst Anthony Gattauso, "the Philippines is a place to make money, enjoy your wealth and forget it. They are colonizers in their own country."

In her independence day address last June, Aquino announced the formation of a new political movement called Kabayog (bravery). Under Kabayog, private anti-governmental groups are supposed to unite to get the country moving again. In creating Kabayog, Aquino made it clear that she was no longer

Global Outlook.



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able to work with the 200-member elected congress to implement programs.

Aquino is under severe pressure from the international Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank to implement reforms that may help the economy at the long run. But if she takes their advice, experts say, she risks further alienating the already disillusioned public and could provoke another coup attempt. The key obstacle that the deviation of the peso will spur exports. But as one U.S. banker noted, "The other side is that the Philippines will be adding many more pesos to its already high oil bill, not that's satisfactory." The IMF also has asked Aquino to reduce deficits by selling off government assets, including several hotels and Philippine Airlines. Some of those enterprises, however, are now operated by her political supporters, who have shown little interest in moving them into the sector block.

Aquino maintains that her administration has reduced the number of Filipinos living in poverty by 10 per cent. But even her figures suggest that fully half of the nation's 60 million people remain impoverished. And such opposition leaders as Senator Juan Ponce Enrile claim



Filipinos sifting through garbage: there is pervasive resignation

that the poor represent two-thirds of the population, including 16 million who cannot even own their basic food requirements.

But the one achievement that no one can take away from Aquino—not even Enrile, who has been asked to lead one coup attempt—is the restoration of democratic institutions. Many analysts argue that the courts are corrupt, that the legislature is dominated by the rich and the executive branch by incompetents. But in 1988, and in later local elections, Filipino voters demonstrated their desire for justice

and the right to choose their leaders. "Aquino restored democratic processes," said Senator Aquilino Pimentel, adding "If she is known only for that, it's a tremendous accomplishment."

Many observers predict that, between now and the end of her term in 1992, Aquino will accomplish little more. Most agree that her main mission is simply to survive in office—and hand over power to an elected successor. Aquino has said that she will not seek a second term. Although there is already a local field of presidential aspirants, including Aquino's vice-president and sometime antagonist Salvador Laurel,

none has fired the public's imagination. But political analyst Francisco Chavez said that it is premature to write off the Philippines. "If you look at the newspapers, you would think the country is going to the dogs," he said. "But somewhere it doesn't go to the dogs. No matter what happens, we will muddle through." Under current circumstances, that may be the best that the Philippines can hope for.

ANDREW PHILLIPS with ALAN BLOW
in Manila

BRITAIN

A blow to Thatcher

Howe resigns over European union policy

Since Geoffrey Howe once claimed that he, as much as Margaret Thatcher herself, was responsible for developing the blend of right-wing economics popularly known as Thatcherism. As the British leader's first finance minister, between 1979 and 1983, Howe laid the basis for Thatcher's narrow approach to government. But the two did not always agree on other issues, and last week their differences led to Thatcher's most serious political setback in several years. Howe unexpectedly quit her cabinet, arguing that Thatcher's negative approach to Britain's relations with the European Community (EC) meant that the country might be left out of crucial decisions as Europe moves towards economic and political union. In a New 1 letter to Thatcher, Howe wrote, "I am deeply anxious that the mood you struck will make it even difficult for Britain to hold and retain a position of influence in this vital debate."

Howe resigned four days after Thatcher attacked other EC countries in language that

was blunt even by her standards. On Oct. 28, the 11 other EC leaders agreed at a meeting at Rome on a timetable for moving towards economic union with a single European currency. Thatcher strongly opposed such a move and declared that the other 11 leaders were "living in cloud cuckoo land." Thatcher's outburst in Rome, and her continued verbal assaults on Britain's EC partners last week, finally persuaded Howe to leave her cabinet.

In fact, Howe's influence had been sharply reduced since July, 1988, when Thatcher dismissed him from the powerful position of foreign secretary in an earlier dispute over European policy. She named him deputy prime minister, but he had

little rooming say over government policy. With his resignation, Howe became the fourth senior minister to leave Thatcher's cabinet over the issue of relations with Europe.

Howe's departure was also the latest in a series of setbacks for Thatcher, whose government was 16 percentage points behind the opposition Labour Party in a recent opinion poll. The Tories' standing with voters was already severely undermined by high inflation

and interest rates. Some Conservative MPs maintained last week that Thatcher is now more likely to face a leadership challenge from within her party before the next election, due no later than June 1992. Whether that happens or not, Howe's resignation guaranteed that the previously heated debate over Europe within Thatcher's government will now be carried out in public. The day after he resigned, Howe announced further comment because he had a sore throat and had literally lost his voice. When he recovers it, he may use it to continue attacking Thatcher on an issue that has become one of her most vulnerable points.



Howe: 'deeply anxious'

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London



*Dad taught me a lot...
but some things he
let me discover for
myself.*

Grand Marnier

EPPER FIGHTS BACK

THROW Epton looks disgruntled as he sits in his executive office overlooking Toronto's waterfront.

As one of the top two executives in Peter and Edward Bronfman's corporate empire, known as the Edger group, Epton co-ordinates the group's frequent charge that he and the group are working in the way they conduct their business. But then, Epton concedes that perhaps he and his colleagues may have been guilty of "a little conceit." For all of Edger's past accusations, Epton acknowledges that, for the moment at least, the country's most conspicuous and diverse corporate family is in a slump. Clearly, major problems in a group that says it controls a complex web of about 100 companies, with roughly 100,000 employees and total assets of \$169 billion, are worth noting, while a full-blown reversal of the group's fortunes can cause confidence in the nation's economy to shudder.

The current year has certainly been a blemish on the list of managers at the Edger group, which includes Edger Enterprises Ltd., the Bronfman's main holding company, and other major holding companies including Bess International Business Inc., Bronson Ltd. and Carven Developments Ltd. Since the beginning of the year, the group's image of invulnerability has been dulled as its profits and share prices have plunged, and they Street is taking the opportunity to make the group sit back on its heels. In contrast, some of Edger's group of top managers made a lot of investment houses in September and October to shore up confidence and reverse the dumping share prices. But the most recent announcement is welcomed by the group's new operators. "We have seen contrition, but not a dissolution of the idea," and our respected Toronto analysts, who asked for accountability because its company failures sit still as talk to reporters. "The atmosphere is still there."

PETER AND EDWARD BRONFMAN'S EMPIRE RESPONDS TO A BARRAGE OF CRITICISM

Food managers and other investment professionals have long been wary of the complicated network of companies linked together under the Edger umbrella. Alongside, the two

publicity-shy brothers control about eight per cent of the companies that constitute the Toronto Stock Exchange's composite 306 index. Under the shared guidance of Jack Cookwell, a South African-born accountant and longtime adviser to the brothers who holds senior positions at a host of Edger companies, the group has followed a complex web of companies linked by intricate cross-ownership arrangements and financing among group companies. Analysts say that one of the main reasons for the complicated structure is a Cookwell's desire to achieve what he calls "tax efficiency"—in other words, the corporations are structured to ensure that its total tax burden is as small as possible. The strategy works so well that some profitable companies in the group pay no tax at all. One such firm, Royal Trustee Ltd., the country's largest trust company, reported profits of \$340 million in 1989, but collected \$34 million more in tax credits than it paid in income taxes.

In addition to being complex, the financial structure required to support its tax and financing strategy is constantly changing. Said Edger critic Stephen Jenkinson of Montreal, a veteran investment counsel: "I don't understand the structure and I don't think anyone else does either, except the insiders." Also, the group's constant re-shuffling and rebranding of its holdings made many investment managers and analysts find it hard to make sense of the data as they are structured to benefit the Edger group, not necessarily other shareholders. Said Janakowski, who manages about \$11 billion, the largest pool of independent pension funds in the country: "It's a game, and you better believe I know that it is not designed to leave me." Janakowski, an outspoken advocate of minority shareholders' rights, is one of the few investment managers willing to speak on the record about the Edger group, although other leading managers express similar concerns

privately. Complained one analyst: "The desire always seems to get the cards he wants, and the house always wins."

Epton, 56, whom Prime Minister Brian Mulroney named to the Senate in September last year, for the time being, has returned all his talks with Edger companies, including president and chief executive officer of Bronson, acknowledges the critics' complaints about complexity. Epton says that the group is now trying to simplify its diverse stable of holdings. But Epton adds, "The way we have been successful, and people love to know it."

Several principles, analysts are divided about how the group's diverse companies with competitors because they disagree over the impact of the group's leveraged financing techniques, preferred shares. In the past, using Edger companies have enjoyed above-average growth and profits. Still, the Edger companies have been hurt by high interest rates, which have dragged down real estate values, and by the supervising Canadian dollar, which lowers export margins for many companies. In Edger's case, those two factors have combined with investors' recent aversion to holding



Peter (left) and Edward Bronfman: controlling companies worth \$100 billion

In the past 10 years, Peter and Edward Bronfman, 61 and 63 respectively, have turned their \$30-billion enterprises into the most extensive corporate empire in the country. The brothers went out on their own after their uncle Samuel Bronfman made it clear that there was no room for them in the family liquor business in Montreal—three initial stakes was smaller than that of their cousins, Edger and Charles, who took over the Seagram Co. Ltd., the family's liquor business. The brothers earned publicity and rarely talk to the media.

The bottoming the group's share price suffered in the stock market this year as one of the most public failures Edger has ever experienced: the group's companies are concentrated as three main sectors: natural resources, real estate and financial services. For the most part, each is tightly managed on conservative

principles, causing both profits and stock prices to fall. At their worst point, in mid-October, many of the Edger group companies' shares traded at prices that were about half the level they had reached at their highest point in the past 12 months. By comparison, the Toronto Stock Exchange's composite index of 300 leading companies was down 15 per cent during the same period.

That decidedly negative rating from the stock market has come as a sobering lesson to the group's managers. Epton and the group had been expecting that the downturn in the Canadian economy would hurt the companies' financial results and their share prices. But he added, "It came a little earlier and is certainly deeper than we imagined." In many cases, the drop in share prices has hurt Edger companies harder than their competitors, leading some

Business Notes

SCOTIA'S SETTLEMENT

Canada's largest labour union, Scotia Inc., and the United Steelworkers of America entered into a three-year contract and a 50-day strike in its long. Scotia Works plant in Hamilton. However, Scotia said that as a result of the economic downturn, a will recall its employees in stages and may be made to recall all of the 5,000 workers employed at the plant before the strike. Under the agreement, a combination of direct wage increases and cost-of-living protection will result in salary improvements of about 5.3 per cent a year.

ORDERING BIG MACHINES

McDonald's Corp., the world's largest fast-food chain, expanded its long-standing plan for environmental action in 1990 and announced that it expects major environmental changes in its 1,000 North American restaurants with sustainable paper and cardboard packaging. While the firm continues to be responsible, environmentalists say that almost all of the customers and up to garbage change.

SCOTIA DEPARTURE

Lynne Ochi, 50, until recently one of the leading candidates to succeed Jack of Nova Scotia, chairman of Scotia Bank, 63, resigned to become president and chief operating officer of Montreal-based telecommunications and financial services conglomerate ICA Inc.

NEW COMMUNICATIONS CTAR

David Colville, 45, is the new chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney named Colville a former communications policy adviser with the Nova Scotia government, who joined the CRTC as a full-time commissioner in September, to replace Keith Spicer while Spicer leads the new national union movement. However, some journalists who have been leaving with Spicer say that they do not expect him to measure his CRTC job after he presents his commission's findings next summer.

WOLSON'S LEANS

The tower of the Montreal Canadiens, Melson Co. Ltd., now owns 20 per cent of the Toronto Maple Leafs. Melson picked up the 140-million share for just \$11,000, as part of a 1980 agreement under which it made undeveloped assets, payments to \$8.8 million without taking by Leafs owner Harold Ballard. Melson's shares will be kept in trust to comply with 88, rules that prevent cross-ownership.





SUDDENLY THE RIDE WAS OVER

Lisa Mills was a passenger on a friend's snowmobile traveling across a stretch of frozen water. It was a nice evening and they were having fun. They hit a patch of rough ice. The driver lost control, the snowmobile tipped over and Lisa was thrown to the ice.

Lisa's left foot was hurt in the fall. She did not realize how badly she was injured until she went to a hospital for a second time a few days later and was told she would have to be admitted for an operation to insert metal pins to mend a severe fracture.

Unfortunately, after several months of healing, the pain and difficulty in walking remained and the prognosis was uncertain. That was bad news for a young woman who made her living as a waitress.

Lisa was eligible for Accident Benefits under the Zurich Automobile policy insuring the snowmobile. Weekly disability payments were being paid to her. When it became obvious that she would not be able to return to her usual employment, Zurich's rehabilitation counselling began.

Testing showed that Lisa had a strong aptitude for communicating and the interpersonal skills needed for working with the public. Many career

options were reviewed and with Zurich's help, Lisa enrolled in community college courses where she did well. Further counselling led to enrollment in courses in Business Administration and the Travel/Tourism Industry Attending classes and physiotherapy sessions meant a lot of hard work for Lisa but Zurich was there to help—especially during periods of discouragement that are common in a long fight against a disabling injury. Lisa passed her courses with flying colours—and new horizons opened up for her.

Employment in the Sales Department of one of Toronto's luxury hotels has added valuable experience to Lisa's training in the travel business. Now she is looking forward to a career in travel marketing.

Lisa is the first to admit that the many sessions with professional rehabilitation counsellors had a profound effect on her outlook and ambitions for the future.

Like so many others who have been helped, Lisa knows what it means when Zurich promises "we'll be there when you need us." That's a promise we make with every policy we write.

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WE'LL BE THERE WHEN YOU NEED US



Eytan: conceding that perhaps he and his colleagues may have been guilty of 'a little conceit'

analysis to conclude that the market has put a discount on group shares. Says Wilentz: "Heavenly, president of Hies International Bancorp Inc., a merchant banking operation and a specialty company in the group. 'I don't know if there even is [Edgeline] stock. But if there is, then I hope we also get the credit when the market improves.'"

In the Edger group, senior managers, including Eytan and L'Heureux, have a direct personal interest in share prices. Under the group's multi-tiered compensation system, managers are paid relatively low salaries, but are expected to take no-interest, five-year loans from their company to buy shares in the companies they run. A typical executive is likely to be in debt to his company for well over a million dollars.

In today's market, with so many sleeping short sellers, investors can afford to be choosy. Analysts say that, given the current uneasy state of the economy, investors generally prefer to buy individual operating companies that are expected to perform well during the recession. On the other hand, they are avoiding diversified holding companies like those in the Edger group, which represent an over-invested-in a collection of companies. See our analyst, whose company's policy also does not allow its employees to speak to anyone. "Edger feels that, by being on the hands of the South African Mafia prison [Cocaine], they elevate the shares to something spiritual—that Bay Street

should pay a premium for their input. I think they are perfectly disappointed that they are getting a discount instead."

In line with stock-market trends, Edger's extensive real estate holdings have been hardest hit during the current downturn. Realco Ltd., a leading real estate developer whose offices, shopping centres and business parks across the country include the Times 'n Country Mall in Moose Jaw, Sask., and Yorkville Shopping Centre in Toronto, saw its share price drop 75 per cent since the beginning of the year to \$5.58 in September, before recov-

ering slightly in October. While real estate shares in general have fallen far more than might be expected, given current real-estate values, one real estate analyst said that the Edger real estate companies have been even harder hit because investors avoid complexity in times of uncertainty.

Another important Edger holding, Noranda Inc., a massive resource company with interests in forestry and mining, is suffering because of the negative impact of the unusually strong Canadian dollar on sales abroad. Noranda Inc. says that, at the current exchange rate, a one-cent drop in the value of the Canadian dollar would add \$23 million a year to the company's bottom line. And a drop in interest rates of one percentage point would add another \$60 million. Despite Noranda's poor profits during much of the 1980s, Eytan says that the group does not regret its investment in natural resources. "They are not making any more of them," he added. Moreover, he said, pressure from environmental groups has made it harder for companies to open new mining and forestry operations—making existing operations even more valuable.

Still, the weak performance by the real estate and resource sectors is clearly visible in the group's bottom-line results. Edger Enterprises Ltd., the public holding company at the top of the brother's empire, reported a disappointing plunge in its third-quarter earnings, down from \$17 million in the same quarter of 1989.

Neither Eytan nor L'Heureux will predict how long or how deep they expect the downturn in their companies' fortunes to be. Eytan says that, for now, managers will emphasize cost-cutting and wait for the cycle to turn around. "Peter Eytan is very relaxed," he added. "It's been through that three or four times before."

Meanwhile, even Eytan's acknowledged that he might eventually buy shares in some of the group's companies. "Maybe at some point, when they get enormously cheap, I will close my eyes and hold my nose and say I'm going to buy this company on the basis that it's an outright gamble," he said. "If I buy three of them, I might make money on two."

Appearance is one thing, business is another.

BERNIE DALLER

THE BRONFMAN EMPIRE

	SHARE PRICE	
	52-WEEK HIGH	MOV. 2/90
EDGER ENTERPRISES	\$27.75	\$11.50
HIES INTERNATIONAL BANCORP	36.38	14.25
BRASCAN	28.90	14.82
CARENA DEVELOPMENTS	28.25	18.25
TYSON FINANCIAL	22.12	11.87
BRANKALIA	22.75	5.75
ROYAL TRUST	18.50	8.75
JOHN LABATT	26.12	23.38
NORANDA	25.12	14.25
NORANDA FOREST	14.50	6.00

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Harrison McCain in potato field. (below): Inimitable expertise for expression

Old rivals, new wars

The McCains and the Irvings battle over potatoes

With its rugged hills, rolling farmland and lush forests, New Brunswick's upper Saint John River valley is an unlikely setting for a showdown between two of Canada's most powerful business dynasties, the Irvings and the McCains. For 25 years, the area has been a retail fiefdom of Harrison and Rhiannon McCain, the hard-driving brothers from tiny Placentia, N.B., who control one of the world's largest integrated companies. Until last month, no competitor dared take on the McCains in their own backyard. But Cavendish Farms Ltd., which plans to build a \$50-million french-fry production facility at Grand Falls, W.B., directly across the Trans-Canada Highway from the McCain's flagship Placentia plant, is an audacious competitor. Cavendish is owned by the wealthy Irving clan of Saint John, N.B., the same family that gave the McCain brothers their start in business nearly 60 years ago.

The Irvings' decision to invade McCain territory is the boldest move yet in an escalating battle between New Brunswick's resident



and most powerful families. While the two have been competing for more than a decade, the rivalry gets more intense as September when the Irvings, owners of a huge oil, forestry and shipbuilding conglomerate, announced plans to build the Grand Falls plant with \$29 million in proposed federal and provincial government assistance. The McCains promptly launched an aggressive lobbying campaign against the project, citing international trade law to support their argument that the package of government aid amounted to an unfair subsidy. If the new plant is allowed to operate, the McCains feel, the United States could retaliate by slapping a duty on all U.S. imports of Canadian potatoes. Says Arrihobbi McLean, McCain's senior vice-president: "If this deal at Grand Falls goes ahead, the government will turn a vibrant industry into small potatoes."

To bolster their case, the McCains have hired an army of legal advisors and high-profile trade consultants. They include Simon Korman, Canada's chief negotiator during the 1986-1988 free trade talks with the United States; Gordon Rivlin, Canada's former deputy chairperson; and Jean Andriessen, a member of the U.S. negotiating team during the trade talks. Their written reports, which the McCains have sent to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, predict that the U.S. government will impose still duties on Canadian potato exports if Ottawa and New Brunswick proceed with plans to help the Irving subsidiary. Under the assistance program, Ottawa and the New Brunswick government have agreed to provide the new Cavendish plant with \$14.5 million for pollution-control equipment, a \$10.5-million investment tax credit and \$4 million in funding for employee training.

In addition to their legal and technical arguments, the McCains have enlisted high-profile political supporters from north and south of the border. Former U.S. Attorney General George Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader in the Senate, and the other Maine senator, William Cohen, have also asked Ottawa to deny the proposed assistance to Cavendish. They have been joined by Maine's other leading politician, Gov. John McKenna. In an Oct. 24 letter to the Prime Minister, McKenna wrote that the size of the proposed subsidies raises "serious questions as to their impact on the Maine potato industry and may give rise to an action for countervailing duties under the Free Trade Agreement."

For its part, the New Brunswick government says that there are no grounds for a trade dispute with the United States. Says Francis McGinnis, New Brunswick's deputy minister for commerce and technology: "The assistance for Cavendish has been structured very carefully, so there is no question of countervailing duties."

So far, the only response from the publicity-

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ally Irving has been a news release from Robert Irving, a grandson of R. C. Irving and the manager at Canadish. "It should be clear to everyone that Canadish Farms would not do anything to endanger access to the U.S. market," Irving said in the release. "Unfortunately, the McCann public statements on the controversial issue appear to invite the intervention of the U.S. government." Added Irving spokesman Robert Boncall: "The Irving family's only interest is in doing business in the proper way and expanding their markets."

Both sides have much to lose if the United States does move to penalize exports of Can-

adian potatoes. Canadish plans to ship most of the french fries produced by the new Grand Falls plant to growers in the New England states. That is similar to the business strategies adopted by other Irving companies, which have been expanding their New England operations ever since the implementation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in Jan. 1, 1989. McCann, which sells its products in nine countries, including the United States, is also pushing to increase its sales south of the border. McCann now has a 10 percent share of the \$3-billion-a-year french-fry market in the United States.



The story behind Beck's Beer



You can learn a lot about Beck's by reading the back label. But one sip will tell you even more.

Beck's. The number one imported German beer.

Perhaps the only real winners in the burgeoning rivalry are New Brunswick and P.E.I. potato farmers, who stand to benefit from increased demand for their crops. *Self* Harry Fraser, a Charlottetown farmer and editor of the weekly *Fraser's Potato Newsletter*, "Any expansion that uses more potatoes is good for growers." In fact, with Maritime potato-processing plants running at just 60 per cent capacity, some experts say that the Irving and McCann could find themselves competing for potatoes as well as for new markets.

The two families are not exactly strangers to each other. After attending Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S., Harrison McCann joined Irving Oil Co., the centerpiece of what became R.C. Irving's 300-company business empire, in the early 1950s and later became sales manager for New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. His brother, Wallace McCann, four years younger, attended Mount Allison University in Sackville, N.B., and then moved to Saint John to manage Thomas's Hardware Co., another Irving-owned firm.

By 1956, the ambitious McCann brothers were anxious to strike out on their own. Borrowing \$428,000 with a personal loan guarantee, they built their first franchise plant in Florenceville, where the family has lived since the early 1800s. From those modest beginnings, the brothers joined together a franchise empire with \$2 billion in annual sales, more than 40 factories and 32,500 employees around the world.

Even so, the McCann brothers have been heavily influenced by the Irving way of conducting business. Like the Irvings, the McCanns run tightly controlled operations with no shareholders outside of the family. Both clans conduct their businesses beneath a cloak of secrecy, routinely declining requests for interviews. As a private company, McCann Foods is not required to disclose its profits, although estimates of 55 per cent of revenues are common for the industry. Perhaps most important, the Irvings and McCanns both display a seemingly insatiable appetite for expansion and an aggressive business style.

The seeds of the business rivalry between the two clans go back to the early days of the McCann empire, when the Florenceville family dropped Irving Oil as its fuel supplier. But the competition really heated into the open in 1974, when the Irving family quickly bought control of C. M. McCann Ltd., a financially troubled P.E.I. potato processor that they renamed Canadish Farms.

Since then, the Irvings have steadily expanded Canadish, moving into direct competition with McCann in the frozen-food business. At one point, McCann Foods even sued Canadish for copyright infringement, arguing that the Irving company's packaging closely resembled that used by McCann. The action was settled out of court in 1988, and details of the settlement were never disclosed.

Through it all, both families have steadfastly denied that there is any personal animosity between them. In a 1989 interview with *Maclean's*, James Irving, R.C.'s eldest son, and

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Figure 1

Long Term	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386	2387	2388	2389	2390	2391	2392	2393	2394	2395	2396	2397	2398	2399	2400	2401	2402
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BUSINESS

that he and his two brothers "are the best of friends" with the McCains. And last week, McCain non-persuadingly Archibald McLean said that his company "bears no malice against any of its competitors."

Despite that, the rivalry between the two families has escalated steadily during the past year. The P.F.J. government triggered the latest furore in late 1988, when it offered incentives to the Irving family to build a new processing plant in Samarone, which will be the first of a series of new plants in the Forins basin; there others in 1992. In response, Cavallotti Farnas announced last January that it would build an \$40-million potato plant 10 km from Samarone, financed by \$40 million in federal government grants. Claiming that, as they were the only processors in the area, they would be able to absorb the extra capacity, the U.S. trenchery producers, the McCain set out to block the government assistance. In March, the McCain promised to build their own P.F.J. plant—without any federal grants. At that point, Offens withdrew its earlier promise to assist Cavallotti, and the P.F.J. abandoned their plans for a new P.J. factory.

Some at the powerful St. John family was killed on another boat. In April, the P.R.I. government learned that Mary Jose Irving, K.C. Irving's granddaughter, had acquired 3,000 acres of farmland in the island for her pasture company, Island River Farms. Premier Joseph Gutz ordered her to sell some of the land because her holdings exceeded the maximum then allowed under provincial law. The ownership claims were lightened in 1981 after Cavendish moved to buy 8,000 acres of farmland, raising public concerns that the company intended to grow its own potatoes rather than purchase supplies from farmers on the island.

Last month, Mary Jean Irving announced that she had reluctantly decided to sell some of her P.E.U. holdings. "The reason I chose not to pursue this matter through the courts is because the legal proceedings against me would be used to explore other private aspects of the Irving family's business interests," she said.

By then the Frings family had already relocated its attraction. After dropping plans for the new P&E plant, the family briefly considered building a new facility in either Washington state or Maine, where the McGains already operate a pair of French-fry plants. Finally, however, they settled on the Grand Falls site, in part because provincial and federal officials offered far more assistance to the company in settling in the Grand Falls area than would have been available in the United States. Some area residents say that they expect the Frings to build a new, even more impressive, attraction in the Grand Falls area. That regardless of what happens to the government subsidies for Cammish's new plant, the battle of the Frings and McGains is the real McGain.

JOHN DeMONT with BARBARA MacANER
in *Charlottesville* and PATRICIA CANNOLAT in
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What kind of future will we leave to our children?
For here, in this same picnic clearing, I, too,
played as a child.



Now, surrounded by the trees of my youth,
I wondered if our children, too, so full of spirit and
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"Most people simply don't realize what a significant contribution the pharmaceutical industry makes to medical research."

I certainly do."

*Dr. Michael Sole
Director, Centre for Cardiovascular
Research, University of Toronto*

The brand-name pharmaceutical companies are helping us take on more researchers and educate more people. The benefits to Canada are obvious."

Dr. Michael Sole is a leading researcher in cardiovascular disease. This is a demanding area of study, and there is never enough funding. The pharmaceutical industry is doing a lot to fill the breach.

Dr. Sole cites the example of a grant provided by one company that led to the creation of 18 fellowships to train young scientists.

"As a result, these young people got a start in their research careers – and we are the stronger for it."

He believes the pharmaceutical companies play an important role in ensuring that Canadian research does have a future.

"They are sowing the seed, making an investment in this country so that Canada can compete more effectively at the international level."

Exactly which companies is he talking about?

The "innovative" pharmaceutical firms who develop and manufacture

"The innovative pharmaceutical companies play an important role in ensuring that Canadian research does have a future."

original brand-name medicines – collectively, the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association of Canada (PMAC).

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And it's a commitment that's not only continuing, but growing. In the last two years alone, research spending by PMAC companies has doubled.

As Dr. Sole would attest, there are no "miracle" cures in medical research, just hard-fought victories that take a great deal of time and money.

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BUSINESS WATCH



A recession or an economic earthquake

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Milton Friedman, the American free-market economist, once pointed out that there are no business cycles—"only ups and downs." That's true enough, but the problem with this assertion is facing the "ups," trying to drive what factors will become as back into good times.

While there are as many reasons for the current slump as there are economists, at least a dozen factors make the economy's downturn difficult to predict. Those trends suggest that we are not entering just another cycle, but may be on the verge of suffering an economic earthquake.

Apart from the accelerating possibility of a Gulf war, the greatest threat to the Western world's economic stability is the breakdown of the American banking system. Not only have most of the local savings and loan institutions been washed away in a tidal wave of risk craving capital debt of up to \$254 billion, but most of the country's major financial institutions, mostly the so-called money-center banks, are also in trouble. Last month, the Chase Manhattan Corp. of New York City, America's second-largest commercial bank and once the impeccable fiscal fortress of the Rockefeller clan, announced a \$722-million loss for the third quarter.

As a result, the Chase has cut its dividends by more than half and reduced payoffs by 12 per cent. Moody's Investor Service has a New York report that is additive to the Chase, other leading U.S. banks such as Citicorp, BankAmerica Corp., Security Pacific Corp., Chemical Banking Corp., Manufacturers Hanover Corp. and First Chicago Corp. all listed sufficient reserves to absorb losses on troubled loans. The General Accounting Office in Washington predicts that 35 large U.S. banks may fail or require bailouts in 1991, with Dime Savings Bank of New York as the most trouble of all, during the first six months of 1990, since 203 small U.S. banks have failed and 20 major banks have reduced or eliminated dividends.

If the U.S. banking system collapses, we will be caught in the undertow. With free trade, the two economies are one

A run on American banks could be triggered by a dramatic deterioration in their Third World debt portfolio, though it's hard to imagine how that scenario could get worse. Third World nations owe our U.S. banks \$180 billion, and there seems to be no movement forward to either repaying the principal or dealing with the servent costs. The largest and most problematic debtors are in Brazil, which has run up loans totaling \$125 billion with North American commercial banks, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

At the moment, Brazil is refusing to repay not only its loans but the agreed-to interest on that massive debt and is already more than \$11.5 billion behind on its non-principal payments. Canadian banks still have loans of \$3.1 billion outstanding in Brazil, but unlike the U.S. banks, most of those liabilities are backed up by adequate reserves.

Still, if the American banking system begins to collapse, we will be caught in the undertow. With free trade, the two economies are one. Because so many American corporate takeovers were financed by junk bonds which require constantly expanding earnings to maintain their high yields, the serious dip in private-sector earnings is expected to trigger a stock wave of

advances in the next few months—placing even more pressure on the American banks. For Canada, the recession's impact won't be more than 10 per cent unemployment and drastically lower housing starts, as well as savings cuts in corporate capital and equipment spending, which is already down 18 per cent from last year. Employment in manufacturing has dropped 10 per cent in the past year, mostly from Canadian factories moving south of the border. That trend will accelerate. The fact that Varsity Corp., once the pride of Canadian manufacturing under its former Massey-Pearson Ltd. name, was willing to pay \$24.7 million to acquire its plant in Canada, has sent a pessimistic signal to international investors.

The real question mark about this recession is, how do we get out of it? In the past, governments have been able to rescue economies in trouble with interventionist budgeting. The theory was that, in times of recession, Ottawa increased expenditures and reduced taxes, increasing massive deficits to stimulate economic growth and consumer spending. That simplistic but effective formula was the heart of British economist John Maynard Keynes's General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money. Obviously, if good times governments were supposed to raise taxes and decrease expenditures, building up fiscal surpluses for rainy seasons.

Canada has enjoyed relative prosperity since 1984, during some of these years leading the industrial world in the growth rate of its gross domestic product. But instead of wisely cutting federal expenses, the Mulroney government badly enlarged deficits in the good years from their \$30-billion-plus levels of the Trudeau period. With Canada's national debt as of March 31 at \$254 billion and climbing, and almost 43 cents of every federal revenue dollar being spent to pay the interest, we can no longer avoid the surpluses of the comfort of Keynesianism. The death of that doctrine means that we have run out of effective techniques to reverse the current loss.

Optimists are caught in an economic quagmire. Politically, it cannot afford to cut more, more cost cutting certainly not in its transfer payments to suburban Canadians who need the cash. As the economy deteriorates, there will be more and louder calls for federal intervention, bailouts and handouts. There is simply no money with which to help people and industries hit by the recession, nor individuals in more than three million as high as Brazil's.

None of that means the 1990s will resemble the 1930s. There is no reason at the moment to believe the current recession will turn into a depression. But with the traditional method of reversing a failing economy closed to us, with the untidy health of the American banking system threatening to overwhelm us and no one proposing ultra-radical means to salvation, "the seeds of a storm" are sowing the darkest landscape," concluded Barone's. The New York investment writer, recently "lost in a strack by how much it has changed for the worse in as short a time and how total the damage. It's become a cliché to say there's a light to hope. But the fact is, there's no place to hope."

HARD TIMES

THE LONG-PREDICTED
RECESSION OF 1990
HAS ARRIVED WITH
DEVASTATING FORCE

The first signs of gloom are evident on the outskirts of towns. An automotive engine parts plant that once employed as many as 30 people on the fringes of Windsor, Ont., is closed and abandoned, with a "For Sale" sign plastered to the side of the building. That picture of economic misery is repeated throughout the city, whose fortunes are tied directly to the health of the North American auto industry. In the downtown area, "out of business" notices hang from shuttered stores and restaurant windows. Signs appealing for tourists cover the fronts of unfilled office buildings, and many retailers advertise discounts of as much as 80 per cent as an increasingly desperate attempt to attract customers.

No one in Windsor needed official notices last week to tell them that the long-predicted recession of 1990 had arrived—well, devastating force. At the Canadian Automobile Workers union hall, located just down the street from a furniture-and-appliance store that career Rocco d'Amico has been trying to sell since January, dozens of unemployed auto-parts workers gathered as an atmosphere of pessimism. They were there to collect their weekly unemployment benefits of \$150, intended to tide them over until they become eligible for unemployment insurance benefits. "It is depressing and discouraging," said David Lucarelli, 44, who worked in the stock room at Wilcox Manufacturing Co. until last month. The plant, which used to employ 350 people, made truck bumpers for a General Motors assembly plant in Oshawa, Michoud Lacapelle. "I feel like a prostitute who needs to grovel and beg just to make a living."

Slag But the anger and frustration brought on by the economic downturn is not confined to Windsor. So far, the sting of recession has been felt most acutely in southern Ontario, the region that boomed most from prosperity in the mid- to late 1980s. Elsewhere, the economic picture is mixed. There is little growth in Atlantic Canada (page 64) and Quebec (page 62). But higher energy prices are a result of the crisis in the Persian Gulf have produced optimism in parts of the West (page 61). And while British Columbia currently enjoys the healthiest economy in the country,

even there the forestry industry has been hit by falling demand for lumber and lower prices for pulp and paper (page 60).

But caught in the grip of a blackening economic mood, Canadians everywhere are watching nervously to see how long—and how deep—the economic slide will be. Finance Minister Michael Wilson insisted last month that recessions are a natural and unavoidable part of business cycles. He added that, after seven years of economic expansion, a recession—defined by economists as at least two consecutive quarters of declining production of goods and services—is probably inevitable. But the daily onslaught of corporate announcements detailing job losses and reduced earnings has left many Canadians anxious about their future. Responding to those concerns, Ontario Premier Bob Rae last week reiterated his appeal to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to call an emergency First Ministers' meeting on the economy. Said Rae: "People are worried about their jobs, they are worried about their lives and communities."

Doubt Perhaps the most unsettling development last week was the release of figures showing that the Canadian economy shrank by 0.5 per cent in August—the sharpest monthly drop in the country's growth since March 1988.

Not only do economists predict that next month's third-quarter figures will be just as bad. Also last week, Statistics Canada reported that pessimism among Canadian manufacturers is now almost as deep as it was during the 1982-1983 recession. The agency's survey found that 45 per cent of 3,000 manufacturers expected production to fall over the next three months.

Coming amid almost daily announcements of job cuts and plant closings, these reports are doubt on Wilson's earlier prediction that the recession would be mild and short-lived. So far this year, Statistics Canada's seasonally adjusted figures show that the number of Canadians without jobs has risen only slightly, to 1.15 million in September from 1.07 million last January.

But last week, the signs of a further increase in the unemployment rate were unmistakable. Pratt & Whitney Canada Inc. announced that it is closing operations at three aircraft-engine



plants in Mississauga, Ont., Halifax and Longport, Que., costing 1,200 workers their jobs in Toronto, retail giant Sears Canada Ltd. said that it is eliminating 1,000 jobs nationwide. And in Brandon, Man., a slaughterhouse owned by Darius Meats that down, throwing 62 people out of work.

In addition, analysts say that white-collar and managerial employees are becoming increasingly vulnerable to job losses. Michelle Tur Corp. Inc., a French multinational that operates night factories in the United States and Canada, announced that it plans to slash 600 to 900 managerial and clerical positions from its North American workforce. The company, which employs 6,000 people in Nova Scotia and Ontario, declined to say where the layoffs would take place. The announcement followed reports of impending job losses for large numbers of white-collar workers at Air Canada and Canadian National Railways Ltd.

Fears To make matters worse, some economists are warning that Canada's inflation rate, now 4.2 per cent, will likely rise in the coming months. They point to higher oil and gas costs and the proposed implementation of the federal Goods and Services Tax next Jan. 1. Analysts say that fears of higher inflation will likely convince the Bank of Canada to keep interest rates high through the winter. Last week, the bank's benchmark rate fell only slightly to 10.61 per cent, compared with a high this year of 14.65 per cent in April.

Business leaders, union heads and many economists have blamed the bank's policies for the current recession—and they warn that continued high rates will stifle any renewed economic growth. But Bank of Canada governor John Crow maintains that high rates—which discourage spending—are needed to control inflation. Declared Simon Arsenau, a former deputy finance minister and Ottawa's chief negotiator during talks on the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement: "Crow should stick to his guns. And the government must help him out by restraining its spending."

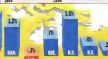
Doubt Although Wilson rebuffs Crow's refusal to lower rates, he has responded to pressure from business groups and angry voters by predicting that rates will drop over the coming months. And many of Wilson's own officials agree privately that high rates are doing irreparable damage to Canadian business. Said a senior City Street economist who is in regular contact with Wilson and his staff: "There are arguments in the hallways. One new at Finance is that Crow's policy is taking the economy into the tank." Added Thomas Courchesne, director of the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.: "If you zero or close a plant these days, the likelihood is that it is not coming back."

As well, many analysts argue that Crow has failed to convince Canadians that the current rate of inflation is an economic devil worth fighting. Francis Scotland of the Montreal-

Storefront in Windsor, Ont.: 'People are worried about their lives'

While the country is in a recession, some provinces are doing better than others

CANADIAN GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (percentage monthly change)



ESTIMATED CHANGE IN PROVINCIAL GDP, 1990

based monthly newsletter *Real Credit Analysis* and that it supports Crow's policy. But he acknowledges that it is hard to convince Canadians that inflation is a problem when the economy is weak and thousands of jobs are being lost. Said Davidson: "When inflation was in the 15-percent range during the early 1970s, everyone knew that it was burning them. But it is harder to see the effects of five-percent inflation. Crow is trying to change the economic psychology of the nation."

Future: In fact, Canadian economists and business executives were concerned that the economy was heading into a recession long before there was any statistical proof of a slowdown. Late Wilson, they appear to have concluded that a slump was inevitable after such a prolonged period of economic growth. "If there was a ban on all economic news, people would have a different attitude," said Robert Thibault, an American economist and co-author of *The Gold and the Dearest Fair: A Memoir of the 1980s*. He added: "Negative reasons get the best of us. We project fears, concerns into our attitudes, and eventually they become self-fulfilling."

These days, the economic pain hangs heaviest over southern Ontario, home to many of Canada's large manufacturing companies and financial institutions. In Toronto, which last year was among the brunt of a severe cost-cutting, house prices have

plummeted, large amounts of office space remain vacant, and the number of major business deals has dropped markedly. "The psychological change between August and today is undeniable," says James Leach, president of Toronto-based Union Gas Ltd. The spike of last economic news has pro-

duced so many 'high-priced' ingredients



Photo by [unreadable]

duced economic patters in executive suites at the top of bank towers as well as among retail merchants at street level. Placed with an end to the heavy days of seriously unlimited consumer spending, some businesses have already started cutting profits to order to survive. Paul Dene, who owns Sagra, an Italian restaurant in a desirable midtown Toronto neighborhood, said that he became worried last summer when the number of patrons at his establishment began to fall. Two weeks ago, he lowered his prices by 25 per cent—enough, he said, to reverse the decline. Said Dene: "People don't want to spend as much as they used to."

But it's not just prices that are falling. As the story of consumption that characterized the 1980s comes to a close, economic behavior is drifting a return to simpler tastes. At Sagra, locally grown mushrooms have replaced the wild mushrooms that Dene used to import from France. And he no longer uses "fancy, high-priced" ingredients, such as edible flowers, in the meals that he prepares.

Not in Toronto's financial district as active as it once was. On Bay Street, the 1880s town was led in part by a series of highly profitable business mergers and acquisitions, known in financial circles as M&As, which generated 40 percent returns for brokers and buyers. But now, says Michael Medhurst, a director of Lancaster Financial Inc., which helps to arrange such mergers and acquisitions, "With leveraged financing now paid, making deals is much more difficult. It has tended to dry things up." Adds Medhurst's corporate lawyer Howard (Tony) Gordon: "The M&A business has declined dramatically. We are into the restructuring business now."

Meanwhile, the Toronto Stock Exchange shows signs of returning to its 10-month-long downward trend. The generally bearish mood on the TSX is bad news for investors, as well as for many of those who work on Bay Street. Inspired by the increase in stock prices throughout much of the 1980s, the disenchanted graduates poured out of business schools and into brokerage houses. But the market's slide has thrown many of them out of work. The investment dealers have a leaner—about 6,000 jobs since 1987, when their employment peaked at 28,128. Many dealers are predicting even more severe layoffs ahead.

Envision: The stagnant stock market has also affected brokers outside of Toronto. The two points, beginning in 1988, J. P. Collins of Halifax worked as a broker for Dominion Securities Ltd.—a job that paid him about \$190,000 a year. But commissions dried up when his clients abandoned the market in the wake of the 1987 crash. Now 33, Collins works as a financial adviser to doctors, and his wife, Gail, has returned to work as a

Imagine, doing an outback walkabout on the world's oldest continent, coming across a cave painting that pre-dates recorded history by thousands of years. And following it up by witnessing the traditional "Dreamtime" dance as performed by the ancient Aboriginal artist's descendants. Imagine being in the midst of a tropical rainforest, surrounded by wildlife found nowhere else on earth. And picture yourself at the foot of Ayres Rock at sunset, the most sacred site of the Aborigines and perhaps Australia's greatest mystery of all. Now, imagine two people on a tiny coral island, surrounded by nothing

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The Women Know Where



source. Even in the boom years, Collins says, he heeded no flames that the bull market would last forever. But he added, "I wish I had acted more during those years."

Collins may be among the lucky ones. For others, the volatility of the market is the cause of severe emotional difficulties. "There is no doubt that, in bad economic times, people get discouraged and depressed," says Dr. Russell Joffe of Toronto's Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, who also leads the Mood Disorders Clinic at the University of Toronto, adds that he is treating an increasing number of patients from the financial services and real estate industries. "In fact," he says, "many of these patients argue that the media are underplaying the economic trouble. They do not need a newspaper to tell them how bad things are."

Severity: The human toll of the current economic downturn is all too palpable for those people—as it is for unemployed auto-parts workers in Windsor, laid-off forestry employees in the B.C. Interior or idle fish-plant workers on the East Coast. Still, most experts agree with Wilson that boom-and-bust cycles are an inevitable fact of life in free-market economies, where growth depends on steady increases in consumer spending and business investment. Says Alan Goss, an economist with Research Capital Corp., a Toronto-based

consulting firm: "Regardless of what governments do to cool things off, when the economy is expanding these trends do have a saturation of spending, overbuilding and too much accumulation of inventory." Eventually, consumers run out of money to spend, and businesses find that they have excess capacity. As Wilson put it last month, "We have not been able, in industrialized countries, to completely escape the business cycles that have been a part of our way of life for 200 years."

By the same token, few analysts believe that Ottawa will be able to do much to control the duration and severity of the current recession. And because of the federal government's accumulated \$308-billion debt, it is unlikely to resort to the traditional method of constraining expenditures to curbing the level of public spending. Said Donner: "This down cycle will be tougher because we have built up such a high level of debt since we came out of the great recession of 1982."

Devotees of the shared view also make a Canadian recovery more difficult. Analysts say that the Bank of Canada will likely be forced to keep domestic interest rates relatively high in 1991 in order to attract international investment, which is becoming increasingly scarce. German investors have already signalled that the demands of absorbing eastern Germany

into the unified state will require massive investment in the 1990s. And Japanese investors are reducing their foreign lending in order to cover losses caused by the recent decline of share prices in the Tokyo Stock Exchange.

Denial: One sign of the sorry state of the Canadian economy is the recent behavior of Montreal financier Paul Desmarais. In the past two years, Desmarais's Power Corp. has sold several of its major holdings, including Hotel de Ville, and pulp-and-paper giant Canimold-Edmonton Ltd. Desmarais in industries that last year lost \$1 billion. Now, with an estimated \$1 billion sitting in the company's coffers, Power is still positioned to buy recession-stricken companies at bargain prices.

But last week, Desmarais said publicly what insiders at Power have been saying for months: the company will likely be doing its buying abroad rather than at home as it shifts its investment focus towards Europe. Desmarais's preference for overseas investment underscores the uncertainty surrounding the Canadian business community. And it is an ominous indication that the current recession may be more than simply a predictable downturn in an otherwise healthy economy.

BRUCE WALLACE with JOHN DAMANT in Windsor and JOHN DALY in Toronto

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THRIVING IN HARD TIMES

Although most companies face a challenge, a few find that their business continues to show promise. This company:

Bargain Hardware's Toronto retailer Doug Macdonald is betting that stores selling low-cost disposables and items will record higher profits in hard times than those offering business from top shoppers. Last month, Mississauga, Ont., a former president of Canadian Tire Corp. Ltd., led a group of investors who bought the Toronto-based Bargain Hardware discount department store chain from K Mart Cos.



Macdonald profits

all Ltd. for an undisclosed sum. Bargain Hardware, which operates in all four Atlantic provinces, Ontario and Manitoba, offers its customers on businesslike clothing and other everyday items its 154 no-frills outlets offer everything from jeans and underwear to cooking ware and canned food, a formula for success that earned the company net profits of \$15 million on sales of \$350 million last year.

During the 1983-84 recession, Bargain Hardware's and other discount stores, such as Wal-Mart, Meier's, and Foy's, were among the handful of retailers to avoid a decline. Each of those five chains opened new outlets and posted solid sales increases, while most of their more upscale competitors lost customers during the recession.

Reports say that the discount chains have several advantages over other retailers in slow economic times. For one thing, demand for the discount stores' merchandise tends to remain steady. While consumers can postpone purchases of furniture, appliances and other big-ticket items, they still must buy clothing, food and other common household needs. As well, rent and other fixed costs make up a much smaller proportion of the discount stores' total costs because they operate primarily in underdeveloped areas in over-populated locations. Said Macdonald: "More and more Canadians at all income levels are trying to save money. We think that this is the place to be."

Right Associates: Hard times are busy times for Melvin Finlay, a management consultant with Toronto-based Right Associates, which specializes in helping to restructure



Finlay: booming

people and all because of plant closures, mergers and related staff reductions by troubled companies. To cope with increasing demand, his firm has recently added three full-time employees to its staff of six. Many laid-off employees, Finlay says, are glad to help deal with the problems of companies that are struggling. They offer their services, and sometimes whole companies, are shut down because of steeply increasing costs.

The terms of the new companies are being overhauled. Said Finlay, 45, whose firm's fees are paid by the company responsible for the layoffs: "People's reactions range from anger to denial to frustration. Sometimes, it is not denial as the death of a loved one—there can be despair and a sense of giving up."

John Daly and Patricia Chisholm



Woodrow of Canada Ltd. sawmill: 'None of us is spending money on anything'

WAITING FOR THE EXPORTS

A B.C. FORESTRY TOWN FIGHTS BACK

In the shadow of the Chief, a dramatic coastal rock formation that towers over the town of Squamish, B.C., 70 km north of Vancouver, three young men stand quietly one day last week in the yard of a silent sawmill. Six weeks ago, Dale Shaw, 28, Jeff Stewart, 35, and Bob McInerney, 30, labored at the Woodrow of Canada Ltd. mill along with 147 co-workers. The yard was crisscrossed with stacks of lumber, forklift trucks loaded up and, and the rust and overhead of the mill drowned out the calls of birds overhead. But on Sept. 24, Woodrow closed the mill because of plummeting world lumber sales. By last week, almost all of the lumber was gone from the yard, the trucks stood idle, and the calls of gulls and crows were clear as they circled over the mill. "It's like visiting a ghost town," said Shaw. Bob the workers and Woodrow Canada executives say that they are at the mercy of volatile swings in worldwide demand for forest products. In fact, company president Thomas Bull said that the plant would reopen temporarily this week. "We hope we can stay open for some

time," he said. "But under these difficult conditions, that may be overly optimistic."

Squamish and dozens of other forestry towns throughout British Columbia have been among the first casualties of the sprawling recession—as they were during the early 1980s. That is in spite of the fact that the provincial economy saw a whole century relatively healthy. Since June, 5,300 of the province's 38,000 seasonal woodworkers have been laid off throughout the province. Another 706 independent contractors, truckers and loggers are also idle. In Squamish, a town of 12,000 nestled at the tip of Howe Sound, one out of every three workers is employed at the forest industry. But last December, Woodrow laid off 60 at its sawmill. For countless 150 people there on the unemployment rolls in September. When they are not working, the workers receive only about 60 per cent of their salaries—a maximum of \$384 per week in unemployment benefits. Said McInerney, a father of three who has worked in the sawmill's yard for the past 13 years: "None of us is spending money

on anything but the bare necessities—just groceries and gas."

The idle millworkers and other Squamish residents predict that the current recession will be worse than the one that hit the town in the early 1980s. They blame the high Canadian dollar, which makes Canadian products more expensive abroad, and high interest rates, which hurt British Columbia's export-dependent forest companies by discouraging construction. Last year, the Woodrow mill produced 140 million board feet of wood products, ranging from the familiar two-by-four studs used to build homes to so-called 24-inch-by-24-inch timbers that are used in railway and mining construction. Woodrow exported about 60 per cent of the lumber to the United States, while the largest products went mainly to buyers in the United Kingdom, Australia and Japan.

Paradox: Because they rely so heavily on foreign sales, manufacturers of wood products have always been highly sensitive to exchange-rate fluctuations. Any increase in the value of the Canadian dollar makes their products more expensive abroad, discouraging foreign sales. Between 1990 and 1995, the Woodrow mill—owned by a U.S. conglomerate—was shut down specifically for weeks at a time. Said Bull, 58, who lives in Vancouver: "Because of outside forces, I think this downturn in our industry is worse than in 1992. Then, we had markets that deteriorated, but we didn't have a dollar that had turned against us. Every one-cent rise in the dollar costs our company \$5 million a year before taxes. From 1992 to now, that adds up to \$50 million to \$80 million per year."

Bull said that he is trying to remain optimistic about the mill's prospects—but he added that he is also a realist. Around the world, particularly in the United States, demand for lumber is falling because of the drop in residential construction and overall economic weakness. "We are trying to put together orders that will allow us to start up and run for more than just a short period," said Bull. "Maybe we'll be open for a month, and then maybe we'll close for another month."

Squamish Mayor Philip Turner said that the residents of his community are realistic as well. Added Turner: "We will survive all right, we always have. We have adapted before." For now, millworkers like Shaw, Stewart and McInerney are waiting and hoping. Said McInerney, whose late father also worked at the Woodrow mill for 20 years until retirement. "Other mills won't last as long as because they know that, once Woodrow opens, we'll come back to Squamish. If we've got grown up here, have your families and lower income, you don't want to leave. I'll give it until spring, then look around." But like the rest of the people of Squamish, McInerney is hoping that the town's dark economic clouds will lift before then.

HAL GIBSON is in Squamish.

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SPECIAL REPORT

FIELD OF DREAMS

OIL PRICE HIKES CHEER ALBERTA

On an isolated patch of Alberta rock-land, 145 km northwest of Calgary, 30 bulldozers and graders operated by a 145-member crew worked around the clock last week. Evening nighttime temperatures as low as -17°C, these men was to transform the area into a grassland, 150-acre site for an \$850-million gas processing plant before the ground freezes. "You have to get 94 hours a day this time of year," said Calgary civil engineer Steve Hajeck. 53, construction supervisor for Shell Canada Ltd., which will operate the facility. Roving a front of grey snow clouds, pinwheeling over the eastern slopes of the Rockies, he added, "We are trying to beat the freeze-up so that we can then build all winter." Hajeck's marchers in the area are also getting up to snuff in on the bonuses that they predict will result from the huge new plant. In the nearby village of Canora (population 450), Karaliddine was checking plans to expand his roadside Burger Baron and Pats restaurant. "You have to be optimistic," said Karaliddine, 38, who came to Canora 15 years ago from Lebanon. "The new plant and all the people it will bring is a huge part of it."

Although much of the rest of the country is sliding into recession, higher world prices for oil and natural gas have softened the impact of the downturn throughout petroleum-rich Alberta. In villages including Canora and neighboring Sundre, Shell and other oil and gas companies are racing to boost production to take advantage of the oil-price increases triggered by Iraq President Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in August.

Stronger: Many economists and business leaders now predict that continued uncertainty over Middle Eastern oil supplies, combined with a series of already scheduled major pipeline and gas-field development projects, will ensure that Alberta remains economically stronger than most other provinces for the foreseeable future. And areas of oil-and-gas

prices fell to pre-Gulf crisis levels, Alberta still stands to benefit from huge new projects in other sectors—including stone-pulp-and-paper plants currently under construction in the province. The Boust-Dominion Bank, for one, predicts that Alberta will experience growth of 1.5 per cent next year, second only to Newfoundland's 2.4 per cent.

For the moment, Alberta's continuing economic growth can be traced to the resurgence

from the situation that prevailed in the late 1980s. After the midsize oilfields of 1980 to 1986, many companies began laying off men in an effort to become leaner and more efficient.

In the past year alone, most oil companies have eliminated more than 1,600 jobs in the province. But according to Thomas Bishop, president of Human Resources Development Agency Systems Inc., a Calgary-based consulting firm, no less than 70 per cent of those

who were laid off in the oil sector recently have found new jobs in other sectors. In part, he said, that is because Alberta has succeeded in diversifying its economy since the 1985 oil-price crash. And Bishop: "There is little evidence of recession at this point. The hard part of the recession seems to be that if Toronto and the East go bad, a boom is on the way."

Growth: The local economy is unquestionably blossoming in Canora. A classy new community centre has become the town's new landmark. People have called about starting a dining room, a bookstore and a drug store. "The 34-unit trailer park is fully booked." To attract new customers to his restaurant, Burger Baron proprietor Karaliddine plans to begin construction on a \$65,000, licensed lounge and a 13,000-square-foot mini-mall next spring. "This town will stay small if we local businesses do not do anything," he said. "Maybe, I will bring a belly dancer for the new lounge." He says he has long to wait before business picks up at the peak of construction in early 1993, an estimated 1,600 people will be working at the gas plant site. Like other business owners in the area, Karaliddine is clearly hoping that Canora's days as an isolated backwater will soon be only a memory.



Hajeck's diversification and a resurgent petroleum industry

oil-and-gas industry. Besides the Canora plant, which will eventually employ 180 full-time workers, three other gas plants are under construction. As well, Nova Corp. plans to spend \$600 million this year—and an estimated \$500 million next year—from 1990 to 1993—to expand its pipelines.

At the same time, most oil executives and industry analysts predict that drilling activity peaking in Alberta will rise by 10 per cent next year—bringing total spending for energy companies to more than \$4 billion. The most resurgence marks a significant turnaround

from the situation that prevailed in the late 1980s. After the midsize oilfields of 1980 to 1986, many companies began laying off men in an effort to become leaner and more efficient. In the past year alone, most oil companies have eliminated more than 1,600 jobs in the province. But according to Thomas Bishop, president of Human Resources Development Agency Systems Inc., a Calgary-based consulting firm, no less than 70 per cent of those who were laid off in the oil sector recently have found new jobs in other sectors. In part, he said, that is because Alberta has succeeded in diversifying its economy since the 1985 oil-price crash. And Bishop: "There is little evidence of recession at this point. The hard part of the recession seems to be that if Toronto and the East go bad, a boom is on the way."

JOHN HOWSE in Canora



THE COLOR OF DESPAIR

CLAIROL IS MOVING OUT OF THE TOWNSHIPS

For Keith and Janet Mosser, Clairol means something more than just a label on a bottle of hair coloring. The retired couple spent much of their working lives providing and packaging the product. Like many of their neighbours in the small town of Knowlton in Quebec's Eastern Townships, 180 km southwest of Montreal, they worked at the local Clairol plant. Janet, now 66, was only 16 when she landed her first job: cleaning shelves in bottles of nail polish. Keith, 61, was a Clairol employee for more than 30 years, and all four of their children were at one time or another Clairol employees. But none of the Mosser's five grandchildren will enjoy the same experience. Clairol plans to shut down its Knowlton operation in December, 1991, leaving the picture-postcard town on the edge of Lake Beauport a facility that has been its major employer and leading corporate citizen for nearly five decades. "Nobody around here ever dreamed that such a thing could happen," said Janet Mosser. Added her husband: "It really takes you out, for the town and for all the good people who are going to lose their jobs."

Clairol's Knowlton operation, a fixture in the town of 8,000 people since the end of the Second World War, has fallen victim to a global restructuring plan adopted by the company's U.S. corporate parent. After the New York City-based Bristol-Myers Co., which bought Clairol in 1981, merged with Squibb Corp., a pharmaceutical company, in 1989, the new management team concluded that the multinational corporation was lumbered with excess manufacturing capacity in several sectors. The line of cosmetic products, including shampoos, hair coloring and conditioners, produced by Clairol was chief among those. As a result, the corporation's headquarters announced last month that it would phase out Clairol plants as Knowlton as well as in Saddlebrook, N.J., and shift the operations of both to an existing facility in Stamford, Conn.

Pressure: Company executives say that they regret having to close any plant. But they add that the move will make Clairol more efficient and competitive. "It was a very, very difficult decision, but it had absolutely nothing to do with Meek-Luke, the Pico Trade Agreement or any of the unreasonable pressures appearing to take hold now in Canada," said Patricia Gagnier, manager for consumer and institutional communications in New York for the Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.

Regardless of the reasons, the impending closure of Clairol's Knowlton operation is a



Decline: "It is going to hurt"

blow for the town and will add to the country's growing unemployment rolls. The Clairol plant is a recently modernized, \$35-million facility spread over 14 acres in the middle of the quiet community. This year, the company will pay \$113,000 in local property taxes. Moreover, Clairol provides work for 226 people in a community where there are few other major employers. The Bruce Lake Duck Farm, with a staff of 50, and a computer equipment manufacturing, employing 45, are the only other town industries with sizable workforces. Company officials declined to reveal Clairol's total payroll, but since workers at the plant are currently earning a base pay of \$9.75 an hour

for a 40-hour week, the local economy stands to lose at least an estimated \$500,000 a month. "It's going to hurt," said Mayor Gilles Desjardins of Bruce Lake, an amalgamation of Knowlton and several other communities scattered around the shores of the lake. "My best estimate," he added, "is a loss in payrolls, services, and the like, of somewhere in the neighborhood of \$5 million a year."

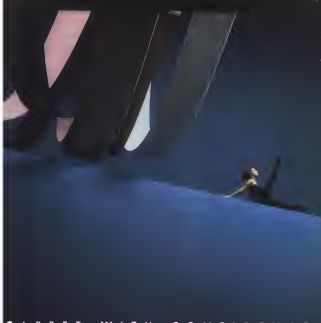
The town is conservative for a place as small as Knowlton. But it might have been worse. Several factors are likely to cushion the impact Clairol, for a start, has offered to relocate some Knowlton employees to its other plants in Montreal and Boucherville. Then it has also launched a generous program to assist employees in acquiring new skills and finding new employment—as well as promising assistance pay amounting to an average of 67 weeks of salary for each employee, 56 weeks beyond the legally required amount.

Battle: Local business leaders also take some solace in the fact that Knowlton is no longer as dependent as it once was upon the Clairol plant. The town has developed a lively retail and retail trade, characterized by a main street lined with designer clothing boutiques and trendy restaurants. As well, such administrative giants as Bell Canada Ltd. and Hyundai Canada Inc. have recently opened new plants in the nearby Brimston Industrial Park. "Knowlton has changed," says Roger Thornton, the local businessman whose family firm, Asset Management Industries, distributed its consumer products under the Clairol trade name for 30 years until he lost control of his plant in 1979, after a boardroom battle with Bristol-Myers. "If this had happened a decade ago," adds Thornton, "it would have been devastating."

For most of Clairol's employees, particularly those less skilled, the company's imminent departure is still daunting. Patricia Sylvain, 36, for one, has worked part-time at the plant for the past seven years, averaging enough weeks every year to be eligible to collect unemployment insurance benefits. "It's been the only work I can find around here," she said over a drink in a local tavern. "I can't speak French so I have no hope for a job in any of the shops I'd like to do so I can't get a job outside the town. And I don't want to uproot my life slaughtering ducks." Posing for a reflective sip of beer, she added, "I guess I might just have to move on."

Given the current economic climate across Canada, Sylvain's dilemma is one that many others share.

BAKERY CAME in Knowlton



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A STORM AFTER THE CALM

ROUGH TIMES THREATEN YARMOUTH



Workers leaving Dominion Textile Inc. mill: "What is going to be left for us? Nothing."

For longtime resident Bruce Jaquard, a sudden evacuation seemed preferable to a slow, agonizing death. "It's kind of a relief to finally get it over with," Jaquard said as he greeted a flurry of customers down by the bulk price closing sale at his store on the outskirts of Yarmouth, N.S., 380 km southwest of Halifax. Five years ago, said the 46-year-old father of two, the sales staff at his Lyons of Acadia Ltd. store was nice, compared with his present complement of three—and business was brisk. But gradually, the boom turned into a bust. "Business just tapered off until it could not taper off any more," said Jaquard, who has worked at the swelling, two-story concern for 18 years: the last night supervisor. "In this last little while, we just couldn't make anymore." He added: Still Jaquard's experience is the exception rather than the rule in Yarmouth—at least for now.

Closing: A regional service centre that also cranks up the fabric, a local tin mine and light industry for its economic health, the town of 8,800 has traditionally been an island of stability too part of that country seared by devastat-

ly depleted fish stocks and economic decline. But even in Yarmouth, there are new signs of looming calamity. The local food bank is busier than at any time in its low-key existence, and real estate experts expect that houses near the top end of the market are selling for more than 20 per cent below their asking prices. And on Oct. 17, up to 330 employees at the town's 107-year-old Dominion Textile Inc. cotton mill learned that they will be out of work when operations are transferred to a more modern facility in Quebec next year. Although civic and business leaders say that Yarmouth has rebounded from hard times in the past, the short-term prospects are unshining. David Roberts (liberal), general manager of the Yarmouth Regional Business Corp., a federally funded agency that lends money to small businesses: "A lot of business people here are barely holding on. We say we more businesses closing at the new year."

The closures, relocations and shutdowns began early this year. In January, Via Rail withdrew its passenger services from Yarmouth to Halifax as a result of Ottawa's drive to

contain the federal deficit. This fall, Air Atlantic, one of two regional air carriers serving Yarmouth, cancelled its twice-daily service. Several employers, among them a plant nursery, a bookstore, a senior-care shop and even a local seaweed information centre, have shut their doors as well.

But the announcement that the mill would soon close dealt a far more serious blow to the community. The mill has long been a mainstay in the area, and in recent years has pumped up to \$50 million annually in salaries and other spending into the local economy. Its impending shutdown was reported in the twice-weekly *Yarmouth Kingdomer* under the banner headline: "Disasters gone bust."

Said Jerry Cusley, 42, a mother of three who has worked at the mill for nearly 25 years: "My father worked here and my grandfather, too. After the mill closes, what is going to be left for us? Nothing, that's what."

Tough: Signs of distress are showing up elsewhere, too. William Carter, volunteer coordinator of the Yarmouth food bank, said that the downtown facility is now providing less than 340 lunches, up from 380 a year ago. "The people who used to be donating food are now standing in the receiving line," said Carter, 63, a retired health distributor. "It's tough. I don't know what's going to happen in January and February when the fuel bills come in and there's nothing left for the kids." Lobster fisherman Bernard MacIsaac, 35, said that he, too, was worried because the *Dominion* had crumpled up the paper of the oil fuel needed to power his 44-foot boat.

But others in the community say that they are convinced the town will ride out the economic downturn.

"Things are slowing down, that's true," said David MacIsaac, president of the Nova Scotia Chamber of Commerce and owner of three Yarmouth businesses. "But it's not time to push the panic button. It's a matter of holding on to what we have." Fourth-generation oil-fired Spencer, sales manager of a Yarmouth General Motors dealership, Spencer said that the town's residents pull together in hard times—qualities he discovered last March when his house burned down and it took citizens rallied behind his family with fire, cash, food, clothing and lodging. Declared Spencer: "They do things the old way here."

Even the food bank's Carter predicted that the town would remain resilient in the face of economic difficulty. "They are proud people down here, and the type to go through government crises with family and happiness," he said. "We've been through bad times before and recovered." But it is clear that in Yarmouth, the province and the country feel the grip of recession, the hallmarks of life at Carter's community—pride and self-sufficiency—will once again be put to the test.

GLENN ALLEN in Yarmouth

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Construction of one of the three tunnels: 'a sense of history being made'

TRANSPORTATION

A bridge under water

The Channel finally links Britain and France

The British workers digging the Channel Tunnel asked that the opening was not big enough for a "sheet of pork" to walk through from France. Instead, a steel probe driven from the British side made a major impression on Frenchmen. The source of the excitement was a small hole in the chalky soil dividing the two tunnels tunneling towards each other 150 feet under the English Channel. At 7:30 p.m. British time (it was an hour later in France) on Tuesday, Oct. 26, French workers cleared away the last few inches of soil on their side and located the tiny opening from the British side. The tunnel through linked Britain to mainland Europe for the first time since an ancient lead bridge ended some 10,000 years ago. French radio proclaimed that, "There is no longer an island." Many Britons took a characteristically different view: "The Europeans are no longer cut off from every England," proclaimed the mass-circulation *Sun* newspaper. "Welcome back to civilization."

Last week's linkage was only the first of several steps in joining the French and English sections of the Channel Tunnel, nicknamed "the Channel," the biggest construction project in Europe and a potent symbol of the

scored a half-eye," Maudslaid said in an interview. "It's like going round the moon and back again and landing where you took off!"

The successful linkage provided a badly needed boost for a project that has suffered from financial problems and, on the British side, from widespread public criticism. The cost of the tunnel now is estimated at \$17 billion, up from a 1987 forecast of just \$10 billion. Eurotunnel PLC, the company that is financing the project and that will run it, last year engaged in a public dispute with Transmanche Link, which is carrying out the construction, over escalating costs and delays in building. And in Kent, the newly rural English county where the British terminus of the tunnel is located, many people strongly oppose it.

Some of the hostility stems from concern over noise and environmental damage from a planned high-speed rail link between London and the tunnel's entrance at Shakespeare Cliff near the seaside town of Folkestone. But away from the tunnel, the added presence of roadsides of its island autos, remains uncomfortable with being physically linked to what they call "cannery" "Gorilla." Roger Vickers, director of the Channel Tunnel Research Unit at the University of Kent at Canterbury, calls it "the golden-age syndrome." Said Vickers: "People somehow have this fear of being linked to the Continent based on something unpleasant coming out of the tunnel. It's not rational—but then, people don't want to look at it rationally."

As a result, France has been quicker to take advantage of the potential economic benefits of the tunnel. The French government is financing a high-speed rail link from Paris to the tunnel's French terminus near Calais, part of an ambitious program of building rapid-rail lines throughout the country and to the rest of Europe. The British government, meanwhile, refuses to put any money into the planned \$3.5-billion London-Folkestone high-speed link. And

while the people of Kent protested vigorously against the project, towns in northern France complained only when they were left off the proposed route of the new rail line. The French have also been the most enthusiastic investors in the tunnel—fully 436,000 of the project's 548,000 private shareholders live in France.

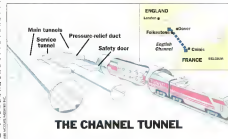
The project itself is the culmination of about two centuries of planning and dreaming by engineers—with the French usually supportive and the British skeptical. The first proposal emerged in 1802, when a French mining engineer named Albert Mathieu drew up plans for a tunnel to carry horse-drawn carriages. New relations between Britain and Napoleon's France quickly scuttled Mathieu's hopes. In 1851, a British engineer proposed dropping a giant tube into the sea to create a tunnel. In 1883, digging actually began from both sides, but was abandoned two years later due to British concerns that submarines might infiltrate England through the passage. In 1974, tunneling began again, but stopped the next year because of spending cuts and non-military concerns.

The latest venture was launched in 1986, when the French and British governments chose the current design for an underwater rail link from among several competing proposals. When it opens in mid-1993, the Channel Tunnel will consist of three parallel passages joined by a series of cross-tunnels. A service tunnel 150 feet in diameter will run down the center, to be used for maintenance purposes and as an evacuation route in an emergency. On either side of that passage, the one which will be completed next month, are two larger, so-called main tunnels 25 feet in diameter. They will carry passenger and freight trains at speeds of up to 100 to 110 m.p.h., as well as double-track, which will ferry cars and trucks between England and France. People will drive their vehicles onto the shuttles for the 30-minute overseas journey and drive them off at the other end.

Robust precautions will be taken to counter one widespread British concern—that robbers, now unknown in the country, might be introduced by 1994 through passing through the tunnel from France. Scanners and electrified grids will be placed inside the tunnels to keep animals and the disease out. Other concerns are shared by people on both sides of the Channel. Some critics argue that the tunnel will make it easier for smugglers to move drugs or other illegal goods between Britain and France, while others contend that the tunnel could be a tempting and easy target for terrorists because it will be so

possible to check every vehicle thoroughly for concealed bombs. But officials say that drug security screening will be tight enough to discourage any smugglers and terrorists, and Eurotunnel spokesmen say that the tunnel itself will be strong enough to withstand even the most powerful explosion.

One bright spot last year when the Channel Tunnel Safety Authority approved Eurotunnel's proposal that passengers remain in their vehicles, where they will be allowed to smoke during the tedious journey, rather than traveling in separate compartments. Eurotunnel officials maintain that such fears are exagger-

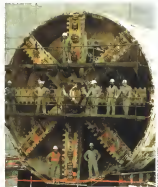


THE CHANNEL TUNNEL

Another potential fear is that the tunnel might become a giant dustbin if one of the three shuttle lanes will carry dozens of cars and trucks, some may also carry containers equipped with pressurized gas cylinders. Concern about

rest, and they point out that some 25 million vehicles have been carried through similar tunnels under the Alps without a total incident.

Despite such concerns, Eurotunnel forecasts that about 30 million people will use the tunnel in its first year of operation. The consortium's officials say that passengers will find it difficult to resist the speed and visibility of the overseas passage, which will cut a rail journey between London and Paris to about two hours and 45 minutes from the current seven hours by a combination of rail and ferry services. Most say they agree. They add that, barring further cost overruns, the tunnel will most likely bring its investors a favorable return in bright changes and passenger fares, and will probably drive out cross-Channel ferries out of business. "When you build a bridge, nobody gets by ferry anymore," said Stefan Sjöström, an expert on the economics of the tunnel at the London Business School. "And what this amounts to is essentially a very long bridge." That, he adds, is not the tunnel's final word. "It certainly has another step in drawing the relationship between Britain and its continental neighbors."



A cutting machine: a boost for a \$17-billion project

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

A violent standoff

Strikers attack New York's Daily News

The dispute began innocently enough. Shortly after midnight on Oct. 35, Dominick Trione, a supervisor at a New York Daily News printing plant, saw delivery-truck driver Gary Kalachik sitting at a hatch table reading a newspaper. The supervisor told the driver that he was supposed to be meeting with the head of newspapers as they came off a conveyor belt 20 m away. An argument ensued, and the supervisor suspended Kalachik. As a result, 34 fellow drivers, who usually accompany newspaper huts and their trucks are loaded, walked off the job in sympathy. A little over two hours later, when a bus filled up to the plant carrying nonunion replacement workers, about 300 angry Daily News employees attacked it with rocks and other objects. The fracas erupted after 13 months of acrimonious contract negotiations between the Chicago-based Tribune Co., which owns the paper, and its employees' unions. It also signaled the start of a bitter strike that could determine the survival of the Daily News, North America's largest-selling daily tabloid, with an average circulation of 1.3 million.

According to spokesmen for the Tribune Co., the underlying issue in the dispute is whether the union management will control the newspaper. When one contract talks began last January, spokesmen for the 16 unions representing 3,300 editors, production and distribution workers tabled demands for con-



Striking News workers rocks, bombs and 'stark demands'

cerned working conditions, job security and higher pay. At the same time, Joseph Hyatt, the Tribune Co.'s vice-president of corporate relations, told his managers to present a set of "hard, stark demands" that would reduce the paper's staff, cut down on overtime and strengthen management control.

Despite the strike, Daily News management persisted in attempts to publish similar editions of the paper with the help of reporters and editors from local other Tribune-owned publications, including The Chicago Tribune and The Fort Lauderdale News/Sun-Sentinel. The striking workers responded with almost aggres-

sive violence and vandalism against the paper's three printing plants. At one point, strikers tried to halt distribution of the paper by fire-bombing delivery trucks. They also threatened to burn down any city newspapers that continued to sell the paper. By late last week, New York City police had arrested more than 25 people in connection with the strike.

For the Tribune Co., the dispute represents a dangerous attempt to exert control over the Daily News. Hyatt said that, between 1980 and 1984, the paper lost \$134 million. As well,

Tribune officials said that under the contract that expired in March 80, wages for the production and distribution workers had the sole right to decide which of their members would work. Said Daily News publisher James Hoge: "Management does not even have the basic right to hire, supervise or determine how work gets done. It's a nightmare."

For their part, union officials say that the company was planning to carry out a restructuring similar to that which occurred at The Chicago Tribune in 1985 following a long and bitter strike. After eliminating 400 jobs and slashing operating costs by 50 per cent, The

Chicago Tribune made a \$60-million profit last year.

Although the unions succeeded in seriously disrupting distribution of the Daily News, they faced a costly loss of support from some of their members as the standoff dragged on. By late last week, about 200 members of the Newspaper Guild, which represents 750 journalists, administrators and advertising staff, had crossed picket lines to return to work. And that only added a new twist to an already violent and bitter strike.

LARRY BLACK in New York

THE FREE PRESS CONTRACT FIGHT

For the first time since 1955, the normally placid, primarily profitable *London Free Press* was hit by a strike last week. About 150 editorial employees walked off the job after 15-month-long negotiations for a first contract with the *Free Press* broke down. *Free Press* reporter Joe Maynes, chairman of the *Free Press* staff of the Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild (SONG), said that the editorial employees would not try to halt production of the paper, which manages continued to publish last week. The paper, with a daily circulation of about 130,000, is owned by Martin Blackburn of

London. Joe Maynes said that the union, certified by the Ontario Labor Relations Board in January 1979, would try to force owners and advertisers away from the 145-year-old paper to a weekly tabloid that the strikers plan to produce for the duration of the strike.

Maynes said that the two sides came close to reaching an agreement, but negotiations collapsed over two key issues. He said that now, which represents editorial employees, at a vote of Ontario newspapers and at Maynes's, walked the contract to contain a five-year salary grid that would provide some members with automatic annual pay increases of six per cent. The average five-year rate for reporters and photographers is now \$9,677 a week. *Free Press* management offered increases of five per cent in each year of a two-year agreement, but rejected the automatic step-ups. The union also

wanted a contract clause that would make union membership a condition of employment. Said Maynes: "I've said that I don't know that clause, just its spirit, is the same, over a period of time, for the employer to hire people who have a non-union bias."

John Loeblein, *Free Press* director of human resources, said that management had no objection to establishing a salary grid. But he said that objection should be based on an employee's performance. He also said that the company performed the union security clause because, by forcing employees to join the union, it would limit their contractual right of freedom of association. With both sides digging in, the Ontario daily could be in for a long strike.

DANIEL JENSEN

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PEOPLE

Personality queen

The winner of the 1981 Miss Canada title, Edmonton's Leslie McLane, says that the 44-year-old contest is no longer a beauty pageant. Said the jubilant winner: "It's more of a personality pageant." Crowned last week, 28-year-old McLane added: "We don't go out in our intimate moments. They just shot all of us over our heads."



McLane 'not a body contest'

a pool. It's not a body contest." And, she told Marlow's "most of the girls have a university education." McLane, who says that she entered because she "thought it would be fun," is a student at Edmonton's University of Alberta and plans to be a lawyer. She added: "This will open a lot of doors and improve my public speaking skills. The contest is there to further develop young women. Sponsors get to use you. It's just a title."

Reports of a lifetime

Journalist Joe Schlesinger, the Czechoslovakian-born CBC TV Berlin bureau chief, says that "over the years, people have asked me to write about my career." But, he added, "My most traumatic, dramatic experience hap-

pened before I became a journalist—in Hitler's Europe and then under Stalin." In Time Zones, his new autobiography, Schlesinger says that he was "a victim of news, and then looked from the outside as at other victims of the news." Added the CBC's former Washington corres-

Schlesinger news victim



Where there is smoke

Her distinctive husky voice, says Candice Wright, female country vocalist of the pair Marsha Wright, developed during years of singing in smoke-filled bars. "I'm a smoker," she admitted. "And I used to be a heavy drinker. My voice has been put through a few tests." Recently, Wright, 29, discussed her voice with Marsha Haggard. Said Wright: "I told her, 'I'm the girl singer who can sing as deep as Marsha Haggard.'" She added, "She got a kick out of that."

Wright: "as deep as Marsha Haggard"

OUT OF HARM'S WAY

Former Chinese TV star and director Han Jianliu says that he is a lucky man. Last year, Liu was among thousands who took part in protests that led to the massacre at Tiananmen Square. But because he left China to complete his role as Dr. Fung in the recently released film *Batman*, he now lives as a refugee in Toronto. And last week, Liu, 34, was in Quebec playing the part of a native Indian for the upcoming movie *Black Robe*. Said Liu: "I wanted to make films, but the Communist party didn't like my ideas. I'm afraid to go back."

No more syrup

In days of a sugarcoated teen idol era, even, but Donny Osmond says that did not change the hard. Recently, a fan (Osmond's mother) treated him to a surprise: his 1972 hit *Pretty Little Thing*. Osmond, now 23, interrupted his reaction to perform a heavy-metal version of the song. Replied Osmond: "That was damn sweet. They could see I had a sense of humor about it." The video for his latest single, the tough rock tune *My Love Is a Fire*, features an unsmiling Osmond surrounded by scantily clad female dancers. "What can I say?" declared Osmond. "I've changed."



Osmond: Heavy-metal version



died: "The book begins in Czechoslovakia in 1939 and ends 50 years later in Czechoslovakia." Schlesinger, 62, who took the CBC's new Berlin position in September, returned to his native country last year to report on the collapse of communism. "I never thought I'd go back," said Schlesinger. "I never thought I'd live to see it happen."

PHOTO BY GARY W. KATZ



MUSIC

The big rap attack

A black form conquers the mainstream

A year ago, Don Berry was a struggling Caribbean immigrant with a full-time job delivering parcels for a Toronto courier company. But when he left ended at about noon each day, the 25-year-old St. Kitts native would turn to his real vocation. As president of fledgling Bear Factory Productions, he would spend the next 10 or more hours trying to turn his clients into stars in the burgeoning field of rap music. In the past year, he has secured recording contracts for six of his eight acts—including Toronto's Dream Warriors, who already have a Top 10 hit in England. He was able to quit his job as courier in May, and to now on his way to herding Canada's rap-music megal. Still Berry, speaking by telephone from his new \$25,000-a-month, a pearl-white Mazda LX-7. "I'm not a millionaire yet, but I'm making a real good living."

Best, rap grew from a form of angry street music to become arguably the most influential style of the late 1980s. Pop stars ranging from Whitney Houston to George Michael have woven rhythmic pop rhythms into their recordings. Last week, the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences decided to add a Best Rap Recording category to the industry's annual *Juno Awards*. And now, rap artists including M. C. Hammer and Vanilla Ice are at the top of the charts. But the best indication yet of how far rap's lead has preordained the mainstream is the *TV show* *Real Power* of *Bel Air*. A sitcom about a ghetto rapper from Philadelphia living with affluent relatives in *Bel Air*, Calif., it places once-rebellious rap firmly in prime time.

The past few years have witnessed an explosion in the variety and number of rap acts. The leader of the pack is Oakland, Calif.-based Hammer, whose second album, *Please Hammer Don't Hurt Me*, held the number 1 position on the *Billboard* pop album charts for 31 weeks, with sales of more than eight million. But the competition is stiff, with rap boasting a wide range of performers—male and female, serious and satirical, black and white. Current-

3 Live Crew's Luther Campbell stacks sounds in the mainstream

ly rapping at Hammer's heels is Vanilla Ice, a white, disco-converted artist from Florida whose album, *To the Extreme* edged out Hammer's *3rd* in *Billboard*'s number 1 position last week. His ring for *Rolling Stone* the first rap to top the pop single charts.

Rap's influence now extends beyond music. Quick to capitalize on any trend, the fashion and advertising industries have taken the music-city lead and sound of rap and made it suitable for suburban consumption. Los Angeles Times music critic Robert Hilburn warns that mainstream success may sound the death knell of rap in its parent form. But Hilburn also contends that rap's popularity has had a positive effect: "It has given white North America a window on another community," he said. "It's a sense of black rage, frustration and anger that you simply don't get from the media."

Guards of conformity have also joined through that window. Some rappers have accused charges of immorality and corrupting youth. Those accusations have in turn raised the specter of censorship and led to highly publicized cases involving some of rap's most provocative performers. Last year, New York's militant Public Enemy came under attack after one of its members made anti-Semitic comments to the media. And the group faced the problem in December, 1989, by responding to the critical backlash with the song *Welcome to the 21st Century*, which again brought charges of racism. But the most notorious case has involved Miami-based 3 Live Crew, whose members were told to trial the summer on charges of giving an obscene public performance. The group was convicted, then cleared after a successful appeal and a second trial with a new

jury. But record-store owners in Alexander City, Ala., and Lenoir, Ga., are currently facing charges of selling obscene material in connection with 2 Live Crew's albums.

Few would deny that 3 Live Crew's songs are strong stuff. The group itself acknowledged that when it released a toilet-humored version of its album *As They Were Be*. But few say that, despite the raucousness of some rap music, the form is a source of black pride. "Rap is a magnificent, social and occasionally beleaguered art," says Daniel Coates, president of the Black Music Association of Canada, "but it is overwhelmingly positive." Others claim that it is nothing less than pop music's salvation. Soul lady Mitchell, a talent scout for Toronto-based Capitol Records who has signed two Canadian singers: "Rap is about revolution and change. It's what rock 'n' roll used to be."

Although commentators including Coates and Mitchell praise rap for its social conscience, social commentators are also widely criticized—for their own reasons. With rap album production costing as little as \$10,000, one-fourth the cost of the average rock recording, rap represents a low-risk, high-profit venture. Mitchell noted that rappers often make records at home in a computer with a music software program, saving expensive studio time and allowing fans the freedom to create their own effects. He added: "The days of the million-dollar records are coming to an end. These kids can deliver a finished recording with very no real costs. It's brilliant."

Rap first came to prominence outside of New York's black ghettos in 1982, when Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five released the breakout single *The Message*, which delivered a stark portrait of inner-city life. "It was a real social statement. It makes one wonder how I keep from going under." But those socially conscious origins soon gave way to more dance-oriented style, in which rappers boasted about their sexual prowess.

Rap's success had critics begin to dismiss such rap like being anything than a variety of other styles began to emerge. Some artists perfected the technique known as sampling, a kind of creative borrowing from other recordings. And such innovative rappers as Queens, Calif.-based Afrika B'amba Sala, a.k.a. Black Thought, began to challenge the rap pos-

sition that dominated rap. Now, there is a whole range of rap, from so-called hard core, which borrows back to rap's protest roots, to more melodic, pop-oriented rap.

With M. C. Hammer's talent eye of samples from well-known songs, his fanbase work role and his emphasis on choreographed dance sequences in his concerts has emerged as the glossier rap prince of pop. Don Stacey, Karri Burrell, one of seven children in a poor family from Oakland, Hammer learned the

tricks of his own record company and eventually scored a multi-album deal with Capitol. His current tour, which began on June 15 in Louisville, Ky., and drew a surprising 14,000 to Toronto's St. Lawrence last month, will travel to Europe, Japan, Australia and the Caribbean—all by plane. *Billboard*: TPT.

In control with Hammer and his aggressive pursuit of pop stardom are hard-core rappers such as Public Enemy and Boogie Down Productions, who are continuing the style's violent legacy. Soul Brother David's 300-One whose name at Kim Parker. "The idea is to attract the ghetto consciousness, making people who are strong to get ahead but not getting there in the United States, 300-One, Public Enemy and Real Moe Dee have become activists opposed to urban violence, promoting the experience of education and supporting the homeless. Similar campaigns are under way in Canada.

Serious or fun-loving, soft or controversial, rap in all its forms is now a flourishing part of the Canadian music scene. Now that domestic record companies have recognized the appeal—and profitability—of rap, there is a signing frenzy under way. The country even has its first rap star in Toronto's Masta Fisto-Way, a former under-graduate political science student at Carleton University in Ottawa. From 1987, he has been making a living as a rapper. Masta Fisto-Way in Toronto, created a star earlier this year when his single *Let's Run* reached 50th week to number 1 in a major Toronto pop radio station where he was awarded by 6,000 at a local shopping mall.

For some, rap is offering a ticket out of the ghetto where the music originated. Like M. C. Hammer, Toronto's Dream Warriors have found undeniable rewards through rap. While growing up in a middle-class area, the leader of their city's rap group, Jean-François, the Warriors' 21-year-old King Lou (Lower Robinson) and Capital Q (Frank Albert), were surrounded by crime and drugs. Now, a lucrative life as rappers appears to stretch before them. Still their message is clear: "We're from the projects, but they'll never lose that. Rap is about telling people who's going on to these neighborhoods." Rap continues to be the music of urban poverty. But, for Berry and a growing number of others, it is also the sweet sound of success.



Hammer: from poor ghetto boy to glamorous rap prince of pop

streetwise renaissance of rap while growing up in a drug and crime-ridden neighborhood. "We were definitely poor," he said in a recent interview. "We'd be Government-aided apartment building. These bedrooms and six children lived together at one time."

After working as a bus boy for the Oakland Athletics baseball team, and after a short stint in the U.S. army, Hammer hit Oakland's gay bars and the nightclub. Because of his recent move to beachside San Francisco, he had formed a religious rap. With \$45,000 invested by two Athletics players, he

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Flying down to Rio

A pop veteran finds the Brazilian beat

Most singer-songwriters write their songs first and then assemble musicians to help turn those ideas into records. But Simon does it the other way around. He saw *Simão*, the *Rhythm of the Samba* began with a journey to Brazil two years ago. Without any songs in mind, Simon recorded local drummers playing traditional rhythms. Later, he listened to the tapes back home in New York City, improving melodies and lyrics until songs gradually emerged. With *The Rhythm of the Samba*, his tropical roots meet the cool breezes of a coastal pop sensibility.

The record is a logical yet adventuresome segue to *Graceland* (1986), which won the Grammy for album of the year, not more than four million copies and helped usher Black South Africa's voice onto the mainstream. Simon sculpted *Graceland*'s music around the avant-garde soul harmonies of the South African vocal group Ladysmith Black Mambazo. His new record is based on the rich drum culture of Brazil, a legacy handed down from West African slaves. The result is an album that sounds even more distinctly African than *Graceland*.

Simon's voice floats above dense buckets of percussion, rhythms as tough and sweet as sugar. The lyrics once again feature Simon's urbane musings on the contradictions between love and money, faith and faith, between a child's innocence and a tired parent's anxious fate.

A Simon survivor, Simon, 48, has managed to stay one smart step ahead of his generation. For two decades, he has kept expanding the horizons of American pop music—from the folk-rock sensibility of Simon and Garfunkel to his current role as American pop music's minister of external affairs. And even now, as he tries on the trial masks of world music, his songs remain personal, whimsical and discreetly American. "I don't think I've left my own Northern Hemisphere permanently," Simon told *Newsday* last week in New York. "I know that every artist is always looking to come home. And the further out there you get, the more interesting the route home."

Simon was sitting in his spacious corner office overlooking Broadway. It is decorated with objects ranging from African artifacts to personal mementos. A baseball glove lay on a chair. An old double bass that belonged to his musician father, now deceased, stood by the door. The sun from a crisp Manhattan sky filtered through the blinds and shined across a baby grand piano in the corner. Simon said that he had been in the middle of writing a musical, based on a true Puerto Rican story, when he was invited to Rio de Janeiro in 1988 by Brazilian singer Milton Nascimento, with whom he had been collaborating. Postponing the musical, Simon began laying the groundwork for *The Rhythm of the Samba*, whose title refers to Brazilian culture that mix African spirits and Roman Catholic icons.

Simon made four trips to Brazil. He says that time helps rather than hinders him in his attempts to penetrate the music of other cultures. "I tried to be shown things as a visiting dignitary," he explained. "It allows me to go places and connect with other musicians." Most of the drummers whom he recorded were experienced professionals. "They were used to a studio environment," he said. "It was not like going out to the jungle with a Slugs [slugs recorder] and trying to capture the sounds. I spent most of my time in Rio, at a hotel room and a recording studio." Added Simon: "It's a sophisticated concept, and we're using sophisticated players."

But during one excursion to the northeastern Brazilian city of Salvador, by chance he

came across a drum corps called *Olofin*, which was practicing in a square. And its heavy martial rhythms form the backbone of the album's most stirring song, *The Oliveira Child*. Simon recalls that he spent two hours in drudgery negotiations with the *Olofin* group before recruiting them. "Olofin is part of a larger group," he said, "an Afro-centric, nationalist, contemporary-oriented political group that has a musical arm."

Before hiring them, Simon added, he needed to know if their political philosophy was "congruent with mine, and what requirements, if any, did they have about how I was going to interact with their drums." He said that he told them: "Millions of people are going to know you guys. And maybe we'll work together. How about coming to New York?" He recorded three drums in the square, and at the time neither he nor they knew that, a year later, those sounds would end up in an oddly whimsical pop song with such cryptic lines as "Why deep the obvious child?" and "The cross is in the hill park."

Simon said that he wrote the lyrics for the album "intuitively, subconsciously—they came from that sound of the tracks." Indeed, one song, *The Cool, Cool River*, seems to describe the contours of rhythm itself. "You feel it in the crosses and the shadows/With a rattling deep motion."

His method of composition can be painstaking, he noted—"I play the tapes. I improve. I try and copy myself and let stuff come out. It's analogous to fishing." Added Simon: "When you're having a good day and you're pulling



Simon: pop's minister of external affairs

then out of the water, everything's great. But when you go by and I can't think of anything—it gets frustrating."

The *Rhythm of the Samba* lacks the glib, jaunty appeal of *Graceland*. And its rhythms

pose a greater challenge to the North American ear. But its music is enchanting, and the lyrics reveal Simon as a more thoughtful and evocative writer. Simon continues to be one of the stars of David Byrne's series. And commerce keeps intruding on the tropical spell. A song about summer sales and falling stars "all along the tropical coast" has the luring refrain: "That is worth some money." On another cut, Simon sings, "Me and my buddies... like to go down to restaurant row/ Spend those Euro-dollars/All the way from Washington to Tokyo."

But, despite a rousing commentary on civilization and its discontents, the album expresses a measured optimism. It is listening with attentiveness to children, who seem to serve as a source of hope, from a baby in the balloons to infants "in the airport lounge/Upon their mother's breast." And in the end, tropical images overshadow the cynicism of the city.

Born and raised in the New York suburbs of Queens, Simon now lives in an eight-room duplex on Central Park West. He also has a house on Long Island, where he recently played a benefit to save a crumbling lighthouse. Simon divorced his second wife, movie-actress Carrie Fisher, in 1984. From his first marriage, to Peggy Harper, he has an 18-year-old son, who is an aspiring musician living in Los Angeles.

Simon, who owns the rights to his roughly 250 songs, is more than comfortably wealthy. And he Simon, that status carries a social responsibility. "I feel that you should use fame and wealth to make some kind of contribution

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WILDLIFE

Owens Association "I'd rather see the things dead than bring the way they are."

Years of protests finally forced the municipality to take action. Although East York, the borough of which Leslie Farm is part, existed as a bylaw in 1970 making it illegal to keep exotic animals, it made an exception for "Valerie." But a year and a half ago, borough officials withdrew the exemption and charged her with violation of the bylaw. Last September, after Valerie pleaded guilty in the Ontario Provincial Offences Court, the municipality agreed to give her until Dec. 14 to relocate.

According to the grant, photo-taking Wildlife, many of the animals in his sanctuary bear mistreatment to the cruelty and stupidity of some pet owners. He said that when he bought Nikk 5½ years ago, the animal's head had swollen to three times its normal size because of lesions accumulated by her former owner,

he is ill-equipped to care properly for the animals—and unable to deal at all with the 100 on his waiting list. He acknowledges that the animals must live in relatively small cages. And short of building each one in the park—which spurs the neighbours—there is little opportunity for exercise. "You do the best you can," he said. "But the best I can go outside to get a mouth of fresh air. They can't."

Although many of Valerie's neighbors say they sympathize with his desire to help animals, they said that they no longer want the sanctuary in their neighborhood. Some residents say that they are troubled by odors given off by the shelter. According to *Practice*, many of the animals sleep all day and howl during the night. As well, some residents have complained about rats, which they say feed on garbage generated at the shelter. Others have expressed fears that dangerous animals could



Valerie with tiger Rocky and Balboa (sanctuary to some pet owners' stupidity)

who used a baseball bat for discipline. Valerie obtained the eight-year-old leopard from a woman who kept her in a pet, delivered the animal and had his teeth filed down—procedures that rendered the animal defenseless and unfit for placement in any zoo. Another of the sanctuary's animals, a Japanese macaque monkey, was originally stolen from a medical research laboratory, then sold to a flea market.

With the help of a group of about 15 volunteer teens, Valerie spends at least 12 hours a day, seven days a week, looking after the animals. According to Valerie, the cost of running the sanctuary and providing food and veterinary care runs to as much as \$70,000 a month. Most of the money is obtained by contributions from supporters and visitors to the sanctuary. Additional funds come from private sales held by Valerie, and from fees paid for allowing some of the animals to appear in television spots and sportsman's shows.

Valerie admits that in his current location,

escape from the sanctuary and attack neighborhood children. Despite her objection to the shelter, Preston, for one, says that she admires Valerie's devotion to animals. She added: "Some of the problems are not Bill's fault. People put their unwanted animals and run away." Valerie, too, says that he understands his neighbors' opposition to the sanctuary. But his first concern, he says, is the welfare of the animals and finding a new place for them to live—preferably at a location with enough space for outdoor exercise. Valerie estimates that he will need at least \$600,000 to buy and equip a suitable new 60-acre site in Aurora, Ont., 40 km north of Toronto. With only \$12,000 raised through contributions and appeals so far, and only eight weeks to go before the municipal election order takes effect, Valerie and his manager face an uncertain future.

NORA UNDERWOOD

MUSIC

Stairway to rock heaven

Pop fans continue to worship Led Zeppelin

He is smiling, scarily charged voice is one of the best known in rock of all time. And Led Zeppelin, the band that brought Robert Plant to prominence, is the undisputed father of heavy-metal music. While Zeppelin, which broke up 16 years ago, continues to wield a hefty influence on rock, Plant, 44, has spent the past decade trying to carve out a solo career based on his own material. But many fans have refused to accept Plant as his post-Zeppelin incarnation, insisting he is not the old group's lead. When he performed before a capacity crowd of 16,000 at Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens last month, Plant sang four Led Zeppelin numbers including the hard-rock anthem Immigrant Song. Still, after a roaring encore featuring another Zeppelin classic, *Living on My Own*, Plant seemed a little of frustration about competing with Zeppelin's enduring popularity. Before introducing his new band and his own hit, *Till Cool One*, he told the audience, "We've been desperately trying to make music that we can be proud of and that you can enjoy."

Despite Plant's solo endeavors—and those of Zeppelin guitarist Jimmy Page—the band that officially ceased for 12 years simply refuses to die. Since the group fell apart in 1988, with the death of its drummer, John Bonham, true believers during a break have kept the band's members, including John Paul Jones, last season became a record producer, a new generation of fans has kept the spirit of Zeppelin alive. Tribute bands, known as "Led clones" to Zeppelin fans and the music press, are constantly forming to emulate the raucous, blues-based sound. And many current rock groups, including Kingdom Come and Whitesnake, shamelessly rob guitar and vocal phrases from the Zeppelin grove.

But even without the musicians, their would be plenty of Zeppelin around. The group's 1976 concert movie, *The Song Remains the Same*, is a staple of midnight screenings at repertory cinemas. And all of Zeppelin's nine albums remain constant top-sellers, reaching sales of many current recording stars. At the same time, rock radio stations play Zeppelin material frequently. Indeed, radio stations report that *Stairway to Heaven*, the band's best-known number, is still the most requested song that they play. Still, James Johnston, director of programming at Vancouver's rock radio, which plays a different Zeppelin song each

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might be a segment called "Get the Led Out!" "Zeppelin's music is timeless. They were surely one of the best bands ever."

The band will likely dominate an even bigger chunk of the screens now that New York City-based Atlantic Records has released *Led Zeppelin*, a new, lavishly packaged compact disc set—the first anthology of the band's work ever. Among the collection's 54 slightly remastered tracks are three previously unavailable recordings, including a rare rendition of *Thank You Mama Blues*, a song written by legendary blues singer Robert Johnson. Said Tina Demme, Atlantic's director of catalogue development: "Every year, another bunch of 15-year-olds discovers this band. It becomes like a rite of passage, and once again Zeppelin rules the screens."

The ongoing fascination with a defunct group whose performances former *Crawdaddy* rock critic Jon Landau, now Bruce Springsteen's manager, once called "frenzied, imperious, exuberant, violent and often insane," is one of the music world's great mysteries. Much of the allure can be attributed to a mystique that the band members deliberately fostered. According to Stephen Davis's book *Hammer of the Gods: The Led Zeppelin Saga*, both Plant and Page have strong interests in popular and supernatural phenomena. In 1970, Page bought a Scottish mansion formerly owned by Alister Crowley, a well-known practitioner of satanism and necromancy—allegedly to conjure up spirits of the dead.



Plant: trying to carve out a solo career

When the band issued its fourth album in 1973, there was no title or even the group's name on the jacket—only a portrait of an old man carrying wood and four strange, unexplained symbols. And the group's members maintained the aura of mystery by giving few interviews.

But ultimately, it is the sheer power of

Zeppelin's music that has kept the band current. Its sound has given rise to legions of imitators. Ringo Starr, for one, has drawn the wrath of Plant and Page, who accuse the group of stealing their best musical ideas—an ironic charge since Zeppelin itself has often borrowed material from such blues artists as Willie Dixon. But Plant grates one of the tribune groups, Dread Zeppelin, a Los Angeles-based band that performs Zeppelin songs in a reggae style with an Elvis Presley impersonator as lead singer. The group blurs the line between homage and parody, playing up the worst excesses of their heroes while offering respectable but entirely new versions of well-known songs. And Plant, clearly delighted at the chance to define his former band's reputation, plays tapes of the eccentric musicians at his concerts.

As Zeppelin's legacy looms over the rock world, Plant and Page are busy leading off requests that they re-form Led Zeppelin with Jones and Boston's son, Jason, on drums. The trio performed together during Atlantic Records' 40th anniversary celebrations in 1986. Now, industry insiders say that the musicians are considering a \$100-million offer to reunite after Plant's tour has ended later this year. But even without such a reunion, the rock phenomenon known as Led Zeppelin is still flying high.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

BOOKS

Great explorations

A new biography captures Dickens's essence

DICKENS

By Peter Ackroyd
(McClintock & Stewart, 1195 pages, \$59.95)

When Charles Dickens died in 1870, the people who flocked to see his coffin in London's Westminster Abbey covered it with flowers. Some of the offerings were small bunches of wild flowers, tied up with rags—obviously the gift of poor people, many of whom could probably not even read. But Dickens was so greatly loved, and his characters—from Mr. Pickwick of *The Pickwick Papers* to Pip of *Great Expectations*—were so widely feared that he was embraced by every social class in Victorian England. That year, no biographer has attempted to catch the essence of the man who inspired such adoration. Dickens is simply too vast and complex a phenomenon—as much the embodiment of an age as an individual genius. But in Peter Ackroyd's splendid new biography, Dickens, the writer has finally found a

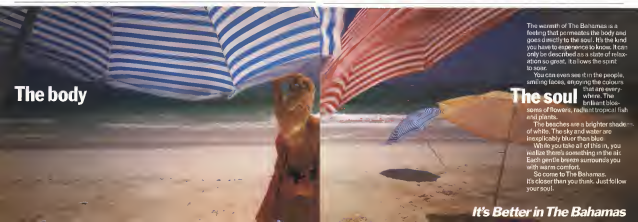
hook big enough to hold him. A novelist himself (*Blackheaven*, *First Light*), Ackroyd combines an artist's intuition with a scholar's thoroughness: the result is a study as compelling as one of Dickens's own masterpieces.

One of Dickens's great strengths in his short plenitude. For more than 1,000 pages, the details of Dickens's life swim over the reader, saturated by Ackroyd's probing, speculative intelligence and supple style. Ackroyd works with much the same facts that are available to all biographers, but he manages to do much more with them. When Dickens, born in 1812, reached the age of 12, his father, John—who worked as a gay officer for the navy—was imprisoned for debt. At about the same time, Dickens was forced to leave school and go to work in a factory, where he spent 10 hours a day at such menial tasks as pasting labels on pots for boot blacking. Other writers have stressed the formative influence of those

events on Dickens's life. But Ackroyd makes them come alive. He evokes all the misery of the young boy as he wanders through the grim London streets, believing his future has been torn from him. Dickens had no idea, as Ackroyd cunningly points out, that one day many of those same streets would bear the names of characters from his novels.

London itself plays an important role in Dickens rarely has a biographer caught so well the importance of place in the shaping of genius. He describes the filthy streets, teeming with vendors and rickety carriages, the prostitutes and cheap theaters, public executions and popular songs. "When the nature of Dickensian caricature and dialogue is considered," Ackroyd writes, "it is wise to remember the subliminal of years from which it springs." Dickens himself could never hear to be away from London for long. It's surprising he returned its creative juices. Even at the height of his fame, he wandered its labyrinth alone, a familiar figure to drivers and street boys.

Dickens was a man of extraordinary vulnerability. He cut only one course: his traumatic youth, he shaped the bright, energetic, optimistic personality he presented to the world. But as Ackroyd convincingly shows, underneath that surface brightness (emphasized by Dickens's colorful clothes and ostentatious jewelry) lurked a man—cold, haunted by childhood fears, driven towards success by unceasing demons. In other words, Dickens was a person. A champion of the family in public, he rained his own with his demurring ways. His



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books described sanguine faces, yet he ate very little himself, mainly picking at the scraps he often stowed for others.

He was also a man of prodigious energy who not only composed huge novels for publication in monthly installments, but also edited newspapers and magazines, wrote masses of journalism and private letters, and plunged enthusiastically into public readings. Ackroyd believes that behind his frenetic activity lay a kind of hysteria. It showed itself most often in Dickens's choleric humor, his principal defense against the world. Once, at a dinner party, Dickens overboard one of the guests and her husband. "Goring!" It was an unusual term at the time and, Dickens thought, an amusing one. He left his chair, lay down on his back and raised one foot in what Ackroyd says was a gesture of silent idleness. "The old man declared," he asked no one in particular. Then, he climbed back in his chair and continued the conversation.

The nature of Dickens's fame is difficult to grasp, even in the age of TV and movie stars. Judges read his novels on the beach. Or his first visit to America in 1842, hundreds lined the

streets to see him. Some people became so enamored of his characters that they unwittingly mimicked them at the author's presence. He was an egomaniac who seemed to know his life inside and out, and it is perhaps no wonder that



Ackroyd: combining artistic intuition and scholarly thoroughness

he turned out prematurely. Even though he was exhausted and depressed from overwork, he embarked on a long series of public readings from his novels in 1846 and 1849. The centerpiece of his presentation was a seriocomic re-enactment of Bill Sikes murdering Nancy, from

Oliver Twist. Audiences were swept away by the sensations of horror he generated. Dickens himself was often sick after the performances. He left guests, described bleeding from the head and experienced a raging headache in his left foot. Finally, in the spring of 1870, he gave up the stage for good. In June, the 58-year-old author died of a stroke.

It is a measure of Ackroyd's skill that Dickens's death, which he describes simply, strikes with the force of a personal loss: a piece of the greatness of life is gone. But his novels remain, and so does Ackroyd's biography. It does what only a great biography can do—it gives a living presence to its subject. The slow, bright-eyed author seems to walk through the pages of the book, as emerging a presence as when he haunted the streets of his beloved London. And yet, strangely, no man of mystery still surrounds him. Ackroyd illuminates Dickens, but he does not replace him away. His book treats the novelist with the sensitivity and restraint due to a living man, and that, finally, is what makes Dickens a work that will last.

JOHN DEMBROSIO

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THE CONTEMPORARY CHOICE



TELEVISION

Camp Heartbreak

A TV movie confronts kids' cancer head on

PRINCES IN EXILE
(CBC, Nov. 13, 8 p.m.)

The movie of the week has become the television-care week of American television, specializing in human dramas ranging from drug abuse to terrorist disease. More likely to exploit than to enlighten, it tends to treat its subject with high doses of sensation and sentiment. *Princes in Exile*, a two-hour drama airing next week on CBC, covers the same sensitive terrain—it's about a summer camp for teenage cancer victims. But its low-key realism offers a distinctly Canadian variation on the style. Although its nearest antecedents are at times ponderously transparent, the film dramatizes a tough subject with admirable honesty—and a dash of humor.

Based on a 1981 novel by Canadian author Mark Scherzer, *Princes in Exile* is the result of an unlikely marriage between Canada's National Film Board and Toronto-based Cineplex

Inc., the commercial studio responsible for the popular 1979 summer-camp comedy *Meatballs*. It was scripted by Joe Wizenfeld, who co-wrote the successful CBC mini-series *Anne of Green Gables*. And its director is new recruit Gail Walker (60). Gayle, who overcame her reluctance to direct it—his first wife died of cancer several years ago—after visiting a camp in Connecticut for terminally ill children that is headed by Paul Newman.

Princes in Exile is the story of Ryan (Gabriel Byrne), a moody 17-year-old who has a brain tumor and expects to die within a year. Sent to a lake-side retreat for children with cancer, Ryan is not a happy camper. Resigned to his fate and consumed by



Analyst: dark-spirited

listlessness, he wants to accomplish two goals before his time runs out: publish his dark-voiced journal and lose his virginity.

While Ryan pines his sexual hopes on an attractive camp nurse, two other campers try to cure his negative attitude. Robert (Nicholas Braided), a leukemia victim who likes to perform daredevil stunts, sets a death-defying example. And Helly (Stacy Molyneux), a spunky survivor who has lost her leg to cancer, tries to divert his somber attention from the nurse. In the lead role, *Analyst* displays a quiet, compelling intensity. And Chuck Shuman is well-cast as Dr. Merritt, the camp's good-humored director, whose creed permeates the camp—"Hope helps, despair doesn't."

The movie confronts the dilemma of cancer head-on, with understanding and emotional conviction. But the script is at times overwrought, with each character representing a single attitude to the loss of the disease. And the realistic subplot is as contained as a water-skiing program. In turning a difficult subject into worthwhile television, *Princes in Exile* still finds it easier to deal with teenage death than teenage sex.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

BOOKS

Lives of she-devils

Fay Weldon's women have a wicked side

On the first night of this fall's International Festival of Authors in Toronto, an attractive British author with pale gold hair and an ample figure eloquently spoke about the local sleeping "We've done Shogun's book back to back," said Fay Weldon at attention, naturally dressed in a black outfit with gold accessories. But when the proper-looking author of her book the stage moments later, she provided the delight of the capacity crowd—as he came along at a devil's midnight. In a voice soft, seductive and dripping with irony, Weldon, who is in her late 50s, read a chapter from her latest novel, *Darcy's Daughters* (HarcourtCollins, \$24.95). The passage details the beginning of an illicit love affair between two prominent British personalities. Introducing her characters as "wicked, upright and self-satisfied," she smiled compassionately and added, "I suppose that covers just about all of us."

Once lauded by *The New York Times* as Charles Dickens, for her heroine, Cora, and as *James Joyce*, for her satirical bias, Weldon is a storyteller in the old-fashioned sense. By the spare standards of modern fiction, her work is a glibly and artfully devious amalgam of Victorian "regret," feminist and women's-issues, black humor and supernatural happenings. Weldon's heroines are often shamed and abandoned by their husbands (Phebe, *The Crossing of Benne May*, *The Heavens and Love of Me*) and otherwise exploited by men. But the women share the blame for their own misfortune. Both, the wrongdoers of *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* destroy her and in a way of reality and recognition. Weldon's ending was changed in the 1986 Hollywood movie, starring Meryl Streep and Roseanne Barr. The author, who says she hated the film's explicit conclusion, told Maclean's "Hollywood has a heart and a conscience, which I do not." Noted Weldon with typical arrogance: "I think, given common equity, women are likely to believe just as badly as men."

Indeed, in *Darcy's Daughters*, the literary female journalist, Victoria Knowles, discovers her family in speech as her new lover, Hugh Wainwright, does. They meet when both are

writing articles about the notorious Eleanor Darcy, the wife of a famous economist who is a pal for means of public funds. Darcy describes her husband's vision of a utopian society in which money is freely available to everyone, education is optional and only caring parents are allowed to have children. While Weldon clearly does not share some of Darcy's outlandish views, her concern about society and social agency, at home and in the Third World, is urgent. "I don't think the future will hold over



Weldon: a storyteller's narrative turns and satiric bite

the next 50 years," she said. "Change it does. If not, you might at least try and imagine how other, better societies might work."

Weldon herself has experienced economic hardship. Her parents divorced when she was 5, and she grew up in a poor but literate household with her mother and sister in New Zealand and, later, with her grandmother in England. Preparing the unimpeachable makes her account, her father, a doctor, journalist and neglected his first family. Her mother supported the family by writing costume novels, posing that and working in a linen factory

Rosella Weldon, who refuses to give her exact age. "It didn't occur to me for a long time that men kept women. When I found out, it seemed a terrible indignity. Women either became housewives in order to win approval, or else they used me as a kind of weapon in order to get a far cost," she added wryly. "Those were pieces I never knew how to play. I would love to have learned."

Like her mother, Weldon has been the family breadwinner for most of her adult life. Her first husband, an older schoolteacher, made the mistake of refusing to let her work for or join the Labour Party. "So, I went to work as a night club hostess," she said. "That really put him out." Two years later, she left him, taking her four-year-old son and eventually became a highly successful advertising copywriter. In 1960, she married former newspaper dealer Ronald Weldon, by whom she has three sons whose ages range from 12 to 27.

In 1986, she wrote her first television script, which became the 1987 novel *The Bad Women's Club*. Her son has flowered twice over since.

14 novels, a novella and a short-story collection, 13 plays, three works of nonfiction and countless radio and TV scripts. "Once I wrote my first novel, I realized that I was a whole tradition of literature, novels and plays in which men had occupied central stage," she said. "If you just put women at the centre you could go on forever, because there were so many centuries to catch up."

Apart from the two days she spends in London each week, Weldon lives on a farm in Rochester, New York, and in a house in London. Her husband runs a business in addition to looking after their 13-year-old son. "He divided I was using too much bread and cream in the cooking, and keeping the children up too late watching television and eating fish and chips, so he took over and now it's all his," she said. In the early days, however, she did it all, including writing with the children in the same room. Unlike their North American counterparts, she said, British women tend not to foster a contradiction "between fathers and creativity. To me, it all comes from completely the same energy. It's creative."

Although Darcy's Utopian makes a departure from Weldon's usual feminist themes, she promises to return to them in the future. "Readers are, like me, like to hope, and they get just up with this case in the hope that I will do something to the better of men," she said. Weldon, who is working on a film script and will have a new collection of short stories out in the spring, has no intention of slowing down. As she put it, "There seems to be so much things that have to be said." And few writers better equipped to say them.

GILLIAN MACKEY

Down by the river

A novelist revisits the sombre Miranichki

BY EYING SNOOW WILL

BY David Adams Richards
(McClelland & Stewart, 286 pages, \$24.95)

For more than 15 years, Canadian novelist and short-story writer David Adams Richards has written about the struggles of ordinary people living in the small mill towns along northern New Brunswick's Miramichi River. In Richards's world, the experience of these people—both French and English—is often marked by pain and confusion. And yet, through their suffering, they manage to rediscover something of the good for dignity that both humanity and life has.

Richards's world is a kind of compassion that liberally releases the ugliness, brutality and vulgarities of the world that might otherwise render it unbearable. As his latest novel, *Down by the River*, shows, people are desperate, but generally of spirit is the author's greatest strength.

The second part of a trilogy that began with *Nights Below Station Street*, winner of the 1984 Governor General's Literary Award for fiction, Richards's new book is his another branch of the Miramichi story. A number of characters from the first novel reappear, and new ones are introduced. The action evokes the riot and flow of these lives, unrestrained by myths of class, place and linguistic culture, with tend but striking details. "There were his gun-jacks, the sleeves pulled up near his elbows," he writes. "Though small, his arms were very strong, and he had the tattoo of his nickname 'Jockey' on his forearm."

As a vision to the community scene, the inhabitants' "intensity and persistence" are followed by "their often horrible activities. And they are possessed, too, by a kind of quiet desperation." "Autony got home to the same house the same with the same yard," writes Richards, "with the ever-present sentences to the problems he had."

The main plot of *Down by the River* concerns the brief and turbulent marriage of Ives and Cecil Miranichki, who are now estranged. Cecil is slow-witted, epileptic and pregnant. The author, introspective Ives, who finds release when he burns at night his Tins, Stangs, is a large-hearted soul who lets himself into trouble whenever he tries to help others. Their story unfolds like a working-class soap opera. The reconciliation between Ives and Cecil is

thwarted by their emotional maturity and, more correctly, by circumstance. Beyond their control, among them the fact that Cecil's father, Autony, cannot repay a loan to one of his neighbors. In an effort to help him, Ives takes money from Cecil, and a violent fight follows. "The fight had to come because of the struggle," writes Richards, "and Cecil, not unlike other underdogs and even like Baby Magdel's."

Autony's debt is a kind of spiritual sin, for which the son will pay far more than the father. At the same time, Richards distances how Ives' interest, how perceptions become de-



Richards' compassion, insight and humor

Some inevitably frustrates that one—to do the profound sense that events shape people, and the other way round. "Something happens, and you think you are the one making it happen," thinks Autony. But deep down, he knows that is not so.

Richards has frequently been compared to Nobel Prize-winning American novelist William Faulkner. Both are unromanticized regional writers with an amazing eye for natural detail, a sharp ear for the nuances of dialect and a preference for interior monologue and multiple points of view. At the same time, there is a universal quality in the works of both that goes beyond their shared provincialism.

Before such comparisons can be taken more seriously, however, and despite his obvious gifts of psychological insight and grim humor, the author of *Down by the River* is an avowed minor narrative discipline. The novel is undoubtedly by structural lapses and pacing problems, too very powerful scenes depicting the deaths of animals are crowded into the final pages of the book, as the story builds—inevitably—to its climax. Not only do the scenes of violence break the pace in too obvious a way, but they cast the question of why earlier parts of the novel lack momentum of such impact.

Richards once suggested in an interview that he revises but does not rewrite. *Down by the River* shows Richards' skill in that practice. Despite its sharp details and memorable characters, the book fails to make Richards's latest extension down the Miramichi a completely satisfying journey.

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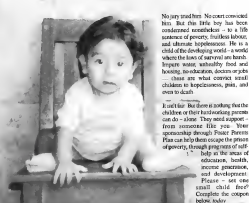
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The J. D. Roberts factor on CTV

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Those of us in life who live in stressful times are approximately 17 of us: we view all change as something for the better. There was great grieving in the valleys, therefore, when there was a grand announcement a few months back that CTV, that beleaguered charitable organization, had finally found a successor to its wretched and tired head honcho, the surname Murray Cherrier.

Murray, if the truth be known, should have received the Victoria Cross some ago for overcoming the warring clutches of private stations comprising the second national network in Canada, their main concern being how much cash they could squeeze out of the senseless Viacom stations that turn the brain to sludge.

Those of us interested in private broadcasting, naturally, were intrigued to detect who would be the new genius designated to pull-rout CTV into a future of confidence. As could be expected, we were flummoxed when he turned out to be a brilliant, young marketing expert from Campbell Soup, one John Casaday—a selection that defied national comment.

Some outside months later, on turning on my local television screen, one morning (the only day unfortunately that Pamela Wilson occasionally can watch one through), I find the smooth countenance and expensive hair of someone called J. D. Roberts, who already should be playing football for the University of Oklahoma.

J. D., it turns out, is the new male host of Canada 40—i.e. that both depressing and combative set, since looking at him makes it apparent that I could be in a hotel room in Santa Fe, where in fact I might be next week, or Cleveland or Denver or Miami. J. D. has that stereotypical American TV-host face, all white head, suit-to-waist (not) and never a question that might offend.

J. D. (why would he be he had outside), could his make-up be Josphat (Ding)st? Is the perfect product of a Campbell Soup mind. Mr Casaday—er, even now known around CTV as Soupy Saus—thinks that white head sells.

The boy with the long nose and smiling, face-replicas-in-a-row of morning confablers, the colorful Norm Perry, as a certain columnist



has written, Norm Perry is the last funny-looking person we will ever see on television. He had an Adam's apple the size of Costa Rica, glasses with Coke-bottle bottoms, and bangs in them for six years, interviewing obscure experts on March Lake, nervous nervous flapping their unendurable looks and incalculable inflex in Gorb worried about global warming.

He has been replaced with Mr. White Bread, who would smile if faced with Hamlet. On my first viewing of him, he was in Tokyo, supposedly covering the Olympic Games problem: decision on whether world-wide Toronto could wrest the 1996 event from Atlanta. He was interviewing Japanese fishermen. Did it occur to him to ask about one of the No. 1 environmental issues of the year—that use of those 20-mile-long drift nets that they use to vacuum up all sea life off the British Columbia coast? Of course not. It was a career feature about their colorful life.

The living-room screens are full of Madeline Tinsdale replicas of J. D. Roberts, with more clothes eagerly arriving their apprenticeships in Kaskadee Lake and Kaskadee headstrong persons before being discovered by more soap salesmen who run television networks. The No. 1 topic at the CMC for years was, who was going to go completely bald first—Peter Mansbridge, David Haller or Mike Duffy—and then be rendered useless on air?

Duffy has since left for CTV, and since he ate waffles last in some Sunday morning block hole of TV where they have imprisoned his vid, so one knows what happened to his hair. Joan Moscovitz of the CBC disappeared off the screen and now is only heard on CBC Radio, apparently because his hair was disappearing too.

Winnipeg's Larry Ager, as we know, is trying to turn Global—his coast battles finally finished—into a third Canadian network. If he is half as smart as his mother thought he was, he should hire all the bald broadcasters in Canada and statistically capture 50 per cent of a sympathetic population in viewers.

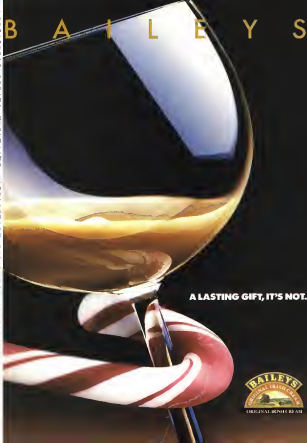
The interchangeable J. D. Roberts of the tube—this one plucked off a Miami station with the advantage of having a Canadian passport—survive while the Holy Mother Corp spends a fortune on makeup and clever lighting to an attempt to disguise the shameful affliction afflicting Mansbridge and Haller.

They are victims of the "male balding" syndrome, a version of the television law that every newscast must feature a young blonde of the female persuasion. Jane Pauley had to be replaced by Deborah Senebry, who is the white-headed female equivalent of J. D. Roberts. Richard B. Marston, it is said, would have been fired—probably for smoking on camera.

It is clear this is an unhappy country where there is a coast-to-coast nostalgia for funny-looking Norm Perry. In desperation for the season, the network is frustrated with Tim Newman, the only man in the world who can't move his upper lip when talking. Where, when we need him, is Norman DeWolf, with those Saranoxie scratches drooping underneath last night's eyes?

Ted Tinney, Jane Pauley's latest spouse, changed all relatives with him and made stars out of unknown names, like Newsworld in doing the same but is in danger of falling into the Deborah Something look-alike contest. What is really needed is a funny-looking female equivalent of Norm Perry. An important CMC or Lyle Timlin. I think Vicki Gabereau could change the tubes.

J. D. Roberts? Get me to the hairdresser!



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